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MEMOIRS

OF

MAXIMILIAN DE BETHUNE,

DUKE OF SULLY,

PRIME MINISTER TO

HENRY THE GREAT.

CONTAINING

The History of the LIFE and REIGN of that MONARCH, And his own ADMINISTRATION under Him.

Translated from the FRENCH.

To which is added,

The TRYAL of RAVAILLAC for the Murder of HENRY THE GREAT.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

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tion upon this ſubject. The clergy and parliament oppoſe the regiſtration of the edict of Nantz; alterations made in it; aſſembly of the proteſtants; artifices of the duke of Bouillon upon this occaſion: the edict regiſtrated. The affair of Martha Broſſier. Gratuities and employments given by Henry to Roſny. The ſtrange deaths of the conſtable's wife, and of the dutcheſs of Beaufort; Henry's grief for the loſs of the dutcheſs: Roſny comforts him.

MEMOIRS

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MEMOIRS OF SULLY.

BOOK VI.

THE ceremony of the king's abjuration was followed by a deputation * of the duke of Nevers to Rome, who, together with the cardinal de Gondy, and the marquis de Piſany, were to offer the pope the ſubmiſſions uſual in ſuch caſes. Although this change was a mortal ſtroke for the league, the Spaniards and the duke of Maïenne ſtill held out; they endeavoured to perſuade their partiſans that there ſtill remained reſources capable of making it ineffectual; but they ſpoke at that time contrary to their own

* Clement VIII. refuſed to acknowledge and receive the duke of Nevers as ambaſſador, and would oblige the French biſhops to go and preſent themſelves to the grand inquiſitor, pretending that they had no power to abſolve the king. M. de Thou blames, with as much reaſon, the pope's inflexibility upon this occaſion, as he extols the courage, prudence, and the whole conduct of the duke of Nevers, book 108. See tom II. Mem. de Nevers, MSS. de la Bibliot. du Roi, and in the hiſtorians mentioned above, the particulars of the embaſſies of Nevers and Luxemburg, and the negociations of father Seraphin Olivari, de la Clielle, of the abbots Du-Perron and d'Oſſat, with the holy father. The pope ſtill deferred a long time an abſolution which he had a great deſire to grant, and received very ill la Clielle, who preſented to him the letters of Henry IV. Father Seraphin, who was preſent, and plainly perceived that the pope's anger was only feigned, ſaid to him merrily, "Holy father, if the devil himſelf was to come, "and aſk an audience of you, and you had any hopes of converting "him, you could not in conſcience deny him it." This ſpeech drew a ſmile from his holineſs.

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opinion, and this feigned confidence was only designed to obtain greater advantages from the king, before he was securely fixed on the throne.

THIS is not a mere conjecture only, at leaſt with regard to the king of Spain, ſince it is certain that he ordered Taxis and Stuniga to offer the king forces ſufficient to reduce all the chiefs of the league and the proteſtant party, without annexing any other condition to this offer, than a ſtrict alliance between the two crowns; and an agreement, that the king ſhould give no aſſiſtance to the rebels in the Low Countries. Philip II. judged of Henry by himſelf, and conſidered his converſion only as the principle of a new political ſyſtem, which made it neceſſary for him to break through his former engagements. It may not perhaps be unuſeful to mention here an obſervation I have made on the conduct of Spain, which is, that although before and after the death of Catherine de Medicis ſhe had put a thouſand different ſprings in motion, changed parties and intereſts as ſhe thought moſt expedient to draw advantages from the diviſions that ſhook this kingdom, the proteſtant party was the only one to which ſhe never made any application: ſhe has often publicly proteſted, that ſhe never had the leaſt intention to gain or ſuffer their alliance. It is by an effect of this very antipathy that the Spaniards have conſtantly refuſed the new religion admiſſion into their ſtates: an antipathy which cannot be attributed to any thing but the republican principles the proteſtants are accuſed of having imbibed. The king being fully convinced, that to ſtifle the ſeeds of ſchiſm in his kingdom, it was neceſſary to give none of the different factions occaſion to boaſt that his power was at their diſpoſal; and that to reduce all parties, he muſt be partial to none; he therefore ſteadily rejected theſe offers from Spain, and thoſe which the duke of Maïenne made him to the ſame purpoſe: but at that very

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very time appeared willing to treat with any of the chiefs or cities of the league which would ſurrender, and reward them in proportion to their readineſs and ſervices: and it was this prudent medium that he was reſolved to perſiſt in. Although he now profeſſed the ſame religion as the league, yet his averſion to the ſpirit which actuated that party, and to the maxims by which they were governed, was not leſſened; the very name only of the league was ſufficient to kindle his anger. The catholic leaguers ſuppoſing that his abjuration authorized them to aboliſh, in thoſe cities which depended upon them, the edicts that were favourable to the huguenots, the king cauſed them to be reſtored; and though in ſome places the leaguers had obtained the conſent even of the huguenots themſelves (determined to purchaſe peace at any price) for this purpoſe, yet the proteſtant party murmuring at it, Henry cancelled all that had been done to that effect *, and ſhewed that it was his deſign to keep the ballance even.

THE duke of Maïenne, finding that in this laſt ſcheme, which he had believed infallible, he was diſappointed as well as the reſt, placed all his future dependence upon his old friends the Pariſians, and neglected no method by which he might awaken their mutinous diſpoſition. But ſo far was he from ſucceeding in this attempt, that he could not hinder them from diſcovering their joy at what had juſt paſſed at Saint Denis. They talked publicly of peace, and even in his preſence; and he had the mortification to hear a propoſal to ſend deputies to the king to demand a truce for ſix months, and they obliged him to give his conſent to it. The truce of three

* The king, on the 12th of December this year, held an aſſembly of the proteſtants at Mante, in which he publicly declared, that his changing his religion ſhould make no alteration in the affairs of the proteſtants. Mem. de la ligue, tom. 5. And the calviniſts having aſked many things of him, he told them he could not comply with their requeſts, but that he woul tolerate them. Matthieu, tom. II. liv. i. p. 164.

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months, that had been granted them at Surêne †, had only inſpired them with an inclination for a longer one.

THE king gave audience to the deputies in full council. The greateſt number of thoſe who compoſed it, liſtening to nothing but their jealouſy of the duke of Maïenne, whom they feared as a man that had the means in his power of purchaſing favour and rewards, were of opinion, that no regard ought to be ſhewn to this demand of the deputies, becauſe the perſon who ſent them perſiſted in his revolt againſt the king, even after his abjuration. Notwithſtanding the juſtice of not confounding the duke of Maïenne with the Pariſians, I ſaw that this advice was likely to be followed, and certainly it might have produced ſome terrible misfortune. I inſiſted ſo ſtrongly upon the advantage of letting the people, already recovered from their firſt terrors, taſte the ſweetneſs of a peace which would intereſt them ſtill more in the king's favour, that this prince declared he would grant the truce they demanded of him, but for the months of Auguſt, September, and October, only.

THE next day a prodigious concourſe of the populace of Paris aſſembled at St. Denis. The king ſhewed himſelf to the people, aſſiſted publicly at maſs; wherever he turned his ſteps the croud was ſo great, that it was ‡ ſometimes impoſſible to pierce through them: at the ſame moment, a million of voices cried, *Long live the king*. Every one returned, charmed with the gracefulneſs of his perſon, his con-

† Or at Villette, ſituated between Paris and St. Denis, as it is obſerved in the Memoirs of the league. It is dated the 31ſt of July, and was publiſhed the next day at Paris.

‡ "They are wild," ſaid Henry, "to ſee a king." Etoile, ibid. In a letter which he wrote to mademoiſelle d'Eſtrées, upon this or ſome other ſuch occaſion, he ſays, "A pleaſant adventure happened to "me at church; an old woman of 80 years of age, ſeized me by the "head and kiſſed me; I was not the firſt who laught at it; to-mor-"row you ſhall ſweeten my mouth." Recueil des lettres d'Henry le Grand.

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deſcenſion, and that popular air which was natural to him: "God bleſs him," ſaid they, with tears in their eyes, "and grant that he may ſoon do the ſame "in our church of Notre Dame in Paris." I obſerved to the king this diſpoſition of the people with regard to him; tender and ſenſible as he was, he could not behold this ſpectacle without a ſtrong emotion.

THE Spaniards had now recourſe to their uſual artifices. D'Entragues came to me one morning, and told me, that a Spaniard was juſt arrived at St. Denis, charged with diſpatches of great importance from Mandoce, who had ordered him to make his applications, directly to me, being the only perſon who had any knowledge of the propoſals which he had along time ago made to the king at Bearn, by Moreau and the viſcount de Chaux. This Spaniard, whoſe name was Ordognès, or Nugnès, had been a domeſtic of d'Entragues, whoſe ſervice he had quitted for that of Mandoce; d'Entragues correſponded, by his means, with the Spaniſh ambaſſador to the league: this is what I learned of this man by the recital, whether true or falſe, that d'Entragues made me. I did not confide much in this Spaniſh emiſſary, and leſs in d'Entragues, whoſe turbulent diſpoſition I was well acquainted with; I received him therefore coldly enough, for I did not doubt but this was all a Spaniſh ſtratagem: but d'Entragues ſeemed ſo affected with my ſuſpicions of his fidelity, and added ſo many aſſurances of the veracity of his Nugnès, that I permitted him to bring him to me that evening. The king, whom I informed of d'Entragues viſit, had the ſame opinion of it that I had; however, he commanded me to hear what the envoy had to ſay.

D'ENTRAGUES did not fail to return at the time appointed, accompanied by the Spaniard, who after ſome vague converſation about the joy there was in the court of Spain for the king's abjuration, and a

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great many proteſtations of kindneſs, which I had no reaſon to believe very ſincere, at length told me, he had a commiſſion to propoſe a marriage between the king and the infanta * of Spain, with ſome other articles, which he declared he had been ordered to explain only to the king, to whom he intreated me to preſent him. Henry being willing to hear him, I told Nugnès, without any ceremony, that ſince he came from ſo ſuſpected a place, he muſt purchaſe the honour of an audience from his majeſty, by ſubmitting to a few precautions that would perhaps be a little mortifying. He thought nothing too hard. I therefore began to ſearch him myſelf, and afterwards cauſed two of my valets de chambre to make a more rigid ſcrutiny about his perſon and cloaths; one of them having been a taylor, acquitted himſelf of this taſk with great exactneſs. When he came into the king's apartment I made him kneel, and held both his hands betwixt mine. He added nothing to the propoſals he had already made me, but talked of the alliance between the two crowns in terms ſo ſpecious and lofty, that the king, who at firſt would hardly liſten to him, could not hinder himſelf from approving of the Spaniard's propoſal, to ſend ſome perſon on whom he could rely, to enquire of don Bernardin de Mandoce himſelf, if what he had ſaid could be depended on.

THIS deputation, which would have the appearance of a myſtery, I could not approve of, and ſtill leſs of the choice his majeſty made of la Varenne for this occaſion, a man remarkably vain †. The king,

*Clara Eugenia of Auſtria, ſecond daughter of Philip II.

† We ſhall mention him again, in the ſequel of theſe Memoirs; his name is William Fouquet, and he derives the title of la Varenne from the marquiſate of la Varenne in Anjou, which he bought. His firſt employment was that of a cook to the princeſs Catherine, and his chief excellency in it was larding meat. If it be true, that this princeſs met him one day after his preferment, and ſaid to him, "La Varenne, thou haſt gained more by carrying my brothers's "poulets §§.

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to whom I discovered all my apprehensions, thought he should avoid any appearance of an engagement or negotiation with Spain, by giving la Varenne no commissions in writing, and making the regulation of some boundaries upon the frontiers of Spain the pretence for his journey. La Varenne had no sooner received orders to depart, than he boasted of his commission, assumed the ambassador, and represented himself as such to Mandoce; who, on his side, paid him greater honours than he had required. This produced the effect which the Spaniards designed it should. It was for some time believed in England and Germany, that Henry sought to gain the king of Spain's friendship, and to break his alliance with the protestant powers; which might have produced an open rupture, if the king had not taken measures immediately to convince them of the contrary.

THE last resource the league now depended upon, and which was the cause that they always protracted an agreement or rupture with the Spaniards, was the horrid resolution of assassinating the king; a resolution with which they knew well how to inspire a

" poulets §§, than by larding of mine," one may conclude, that the means by which he gained the king's favour were not very honourable. He was first made cloak-bearer to this prince, afterwards counsellor of state, and comptroller-general of the post-office, and always lived in great familiarity with Henry IV. who ennobled him. La Varenne appointed a gentleman to attend his son. " What," said this prince to him, " if thou hadst given thy son to a gentleman; " I should have understood what you would be at, but to give a gen- " tleman to him, is what I cannot comprehend." They say likewise that la Varenne having obtained some favour of the king which the chancellor de Belliévre made some difficulty to grant him, la Varenne said to him, " Sir, don't have such a high opinion of yourself: " I would have you to know, that if my master was twenty-five " years younger I would not change places with you." See d'Aubigné, Geneal. de Sainte-Marthe. Mem. de m. le duc d'Angoulême. Mem. de Du-Plessis, &c. Menagiana. Cayet, ibid. tom. V. p. 276. speaks of the embassy of la Varenne into Spain, in a quite different manner from our Memoirs.

§§ *Porter les poulets*, in French, signifies to carry love-letters: the jest lines in the ambiguity of the word *poulet*, which signifies either a pullet or a girl.

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ſmall number of determined men, whoſe heads they had turned with the alluring proſpect of great rewards, if they ſucceeded in their enterprize, and the hopes of meriting a crown of martyrdom if they ſunk under it. Nature itſelf ſo recoils at the reflection, that thoſe who boaſt of being the ſupporters of religion, ſhould ſo impiouſly violate its moſt ſacred injunctions, that this paſſage ought to be blotted from all hiſtories; were it not likewiſe certain, that there is not any ſociety of men, who bear the name of chriſtians, that would ſuffer the imputation of authorizing ſuch a crime; ſuch, indeed, that no body of men, or even any individual, ought to be accuſed of it, without a proof too clear to be conteſted.

THE king had but too* many in thoſe journeys he took from St. Denis to Châlon-ſur-Marne, to Fort de Gournai, to Brie-comte-Robert, to Melun, and afterward to Meulan and Fontainebleau. Upon this article, the monks eſpecially have contracted a ſtain which they will not eaſily efface. Henry, while at Melun, had like to have periſhed by the hand of one of theſe enthuſiaſts, whom the jeſuits and capuchins every where ſuborned for that purpoſe. Amongſt other informations which were ſent him upon this ſubject, he received advice, that one of theſe villains had ſet out from Lyons †, with

* Cayet. Chron. Novenn. liv. v. p. 280. ſpeaks more poſitively of thoſe conſpiracies againſt the life of Henry IV. Mariſot ſays, that a Flamand, called Avenius, came to St. Denis with a deſign to ſtab the prince, but obſerving with what devotion he behaved at maſs, he threw himſelf at his feet, and implored his pardon; but afterwards, reſuming his firſt intention, he was broke upon the wheel in the year 1593. Chap. 33.

† It was Peter Barriére, or Barre, a waterman of Orleans. Davila relates this fact a little differently, book iv. The Memoirs of the league accuſed a jeſuit of Paris, and a capuchin of Lyons, of this bloody deſign, but name neither of them. De Thou ſays expreſsly, book cvii. that this jeſuit was father Varade, rector of the college of Paris, and takes an opportunity from thence of inveighing moſt bitterly againſt the whole ſociety. Mezerai, book lxii. ſpeaks in the ſame terms, and thence ſhews, that he has only copied de Thou; but beſides that the evidence of an enemy ought to be of no weight, it is

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a reſolution to come thither and aſſaſſinate him. Fortunately, before he left Lyons, he declared his deſign in confeſſion to a prieſt; who, terrified at this frenzy, revealed it to a gentleman of Lyons. This gentleman poſted away immediately to get to Melun before the murderer, and deſcribed him ſo exactly to the king, from the picture the prieſt had drawn

proper to obſerve here, once for all, that when the duke of Sully and the other calviniſt writers lay ſuch crimes to the charge of the jeſuits, as well as to meſſieurs de Villeroy, Jeannin, d'Oſſat, &c. they only mean, that ſuch or ſuch a thing happened in conſequence of the principles, writings, public diſputations, and ſermons, of the confederates; in a word, that it was owing to the wrong notions of the league; and to the ſpirit that governed them; and don't mean, that ſuch a jeſuit, or ſuch a perſon, was the perpetrator or contriver of ſuch an action. This will appear more plainly in the ſequel of theſe Memoirs. See how we have explained ourſelves on this matter in the preface of this work.

As to the fact related here, whatever de Thou, Cayet, book v. p. 240. and Mezerai ſay, it is certain, that Barriére being put to the rack, in order to extort from him the names of thoſe who had ſolicited him to attempt the king's life, did not name father Varade; it is alſo certain, that this jeſuit was not proſecuted at all; that he was brought into no manner of trouble during the whole courſe of this proceſs; and that he remained in Paris even after the king had entered that city. When, in the following year 1594, Antony Arnaud, in his plea for the univerſity, reproached the jeſuits for the ſuppoſed crime of father Varade, thoſe monks denied it, and the counſellor did not prove the charge. Hiſt. of the univerſity of Paris, tom. vi. p. 884. Laſtly, the king, in 1604, giving an anſwer to the firſt preſident du Harlay, who was repreſenting to him, that it grieved the parliament to regiſter the edict for the re-eſtabliſhment of the jeſuits, cleared them in particular upon the article which concerned Barriére, ſaying, that none of them were privy to that deſigned parricide. Mem. Chronol. and Dogmat. for the Hiſtory of the church, tom. I. p. 28. Meſſ. de Thou, Cayet, and Mezerai, have then advanced a moſt notorious falſhood, when they wrote, that father Varade had adviſed Barriére to kill the king. It was farther Seraphin Banchi who diſcovered the plot; and the gentleman who travelled from Lyons to acquaint Henry with it, and knew again Barriere at Melun, was called Brancaleon. Chronol. Nov. ibid. Henry IV. talking of this intende crimed with F. Matthieu, his hiſtorian, told him, that the villain had at three different times an opportunity to kill him, *viz.* in a hunting match, when he was gathering ſome fruit from a tree, and in the church of St. Denis; and that Barriere, as well as Clement, had agreed with his accomplices to involve in his accuſation a multitude of innocent perſons, and particularly ſeveral French princes and noblemen. Matthieu, tom. II. book i. p. 150.

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of him, that he was known and seized amongst the croud at Melun, confessed his intended crime, and received punishment for it. The king, ashamed even for his enemies, who by this wickedness discovered the true bent of their dispositions, equally alarmed with all these attempts against his person, and tormented with the precautions he was obliged to take, often complained to me in the most affecting manner of his uneasy situation.

He would not have been unhappy if the behaviour of the catholics in his court had at least compensated for that of the catholics in the league; but the king's abjuration had produced no more change in them than the others, and they thought they were entitled to make him comply with their inclinations in all things. They bore with impatience the king's not breaking off all commerce with his old protestant servants, and openly murmured if he but conversed with any of them, especially with me. The apprehension of my bringing him back to his former religion affected them much less than their suspicions that, in those conversations I had with the king, I should prevail upon him to rectify the abuses in the government, especially the confusion of the finances. Henry, who was not yet in a condition to assert his authority, so far complied with their capriees, as to avoid all private conversation with the huguenots, resumed his conferences upon religion with the catholics only, and continued them at Andresy † and Milly ‡. I took this opportunity to ask the king's permission to go to Bontin, where I had grain to sell to the value of five or six thousand crowns. He granted it, and told me, that at my return he might

† And likewise, at Pontoise, and Fleury, a castle in Gatinois, belonging to Henry Clausse, chief-justice in eyre. The Roman catholics who were there, were, according to M. de Thou, messieurs de Schomberg, de Villeroy, de Belin, de Revol, Jeannin, and de Thou himself, who gives us also to understand, that their discourses turned more upon politics than religion.

‡ In Beauvaisis.

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perhaps be able to form a more exact judgment of the ſtate of his affairs, and that he would then talk farther with me.

I CAME to Bontin, with my wife, at a time when grain bore a very high price. All the great cities, taking advantage of the truce, haſtened to fill their magazines, whatever might happen, and paid for what they bought with the money which the Spaniards had ſcattered throughout the kingdom. Spaniſh piſtoles were then ſo common, that commerce was generally carried on in that money.

I HAD ſcarce ſold half of my grain, when a letter the king wrote to me from Fontainebleau obliged me to return. He had, in my abſence, opened three letters directed to me, from which he could draw no intelligence, becauſe two of them, one of which came from madam de Simiers†, ſiſter to Vitry, and a great friend of admiral Villars, and the other from la Font, were written in cyphers; and all that the third, which came from a man named Deſportes, of Verneuil, contained, was, that he had ſomething to communicate to me relating to the propoſal I made him in my abbey Saint-Taurin of Evreux. The king, rigidly watched by the catholics, could only give me theſe letters, the contents of which I afterwards acquainted him with. Deſportes was the agent employed by the baron de Médavy† to treat of an accommodation with him, and the ſurrender of Verneuil. The letter from madam de Simiers, and that from la Font, turned only upon ſome favourable circumſtances which now preſented themſelves, to engage Villars in the king's intereſt. But affairs ſoon took another turn with regard to him; the loſs of ‡ Eſcamp ſo affected this governor, that for this

* Louiſa de l'Hôpital-Vitry, wife to James Simiers, chief groom of the ſtole to the duke of Alençon.

† Peter Roüxel, baron of Médavy, count of Grancy, lieutenant-general in Normandy, and counſellor of ſtate, died in 1617. He was remarkable for an uncommon ſtrength of body.

‡ A port and fortreſs in the county of Caux.

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time he broke off all measures towards an accommodation. I was informed of it by letters from madam de Simiers and la Font, in answer to mine, at the very moment when, by the king's command, I was preparing to go and confirm Villars in his good resolution.

THE manner in which Fescamp was surprized is so remarkable, that it well deserves a particular recital here. When this fort was taken by Biron from the league, in the garrison that was turned out of it, there was a gentleman, called Bois-rosé*, a man of sense and courage, who making an exact observation of the place he left, and having concerted his scheme, contrived to get two soldiers, whom he had bound to his interest, to be received into the new garrison which was put into Fescamp by the royalists. That side of the fort next the sea is a perpendicular rock six hundred feet high, the bottom of which, for about the height of twelve feet, is continually washed by the sea, except four or five days in the year, during the utmost recess of the sea, when, for the space of three or four hours, it leaves fifteen or twenty fathom of dry sand at the foot of the rock. Bois-rosé, who found it impossible by any other way to surprize a garrison, who guarded with great care a place lately taken, did not doubt of accomplishing his design, if he could enter by that side which was thought inaccessible; this he endeavoured by the following contrivance to perform.

HE had agreed upon a signal with the two soldiers whom he had corrupted, and one of them waited for it continually upon the top of the rock, where he posted himself during the whole time that it was low water. Bois-rosé, taking the opportunity of a very dark night, came with fifty resolute men, chosen from amongst the sailors, in two large boats, to the foot of the rock. He had provided himself with a

*---De Goustiminil, or Gousminil, lord of the manor of Bois-rosé. See Chron. Novean. book v. p. 94.

thick

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thick cable, equal in length to the height of the rock, and tying knots at equal diſtances, run ſhort ſticks through, to ſerve to ſupport them as they climbed. The ſoldier whom he had gained, having waited ſix months for the ſignal, no ſooner perceived it, than he let down a cord from the top of the precipice, to which thoſe below faſtened the cable, by which means it was wound up to the top, and made faſt to an opening in the battlement with a ſtrong crow run through an iron ſtaple made for that purpoſe. Bois-roſé giving the lead to two ſerjeants, whoſe courage he was well convinced of, ordered the fifty ſoldiers to mount the ladder in the ſame manner, one after another, with their weapons tied round their bodies, himſelf bringing up the rear, to take away all hope of returning; which indeed ſoon became impoſſible, for before they had aſcended half way, the ſea riſing more than ſix feet, carried off their boats, and ſet their cable a floating. The neceſſity of withdrawing from a difficult enterprize is not always a ſecurity againſt fear, when the danger appears almoſt inevitable. If the mind repreſents to itſelf theſe fifty men, ſuſpended between heaven and earth, in the midſt of darkneſs, truſting their ſafety to a machine ſo inſecure, that the leaſt want of caution, the treachery of a mercenary ſoldier, or the ſlighteſt fear, might precipitate them into the abyſs of the ſea, or daſh them againſt the rocks; add to this, the noiſe of the waves, the height of the rock, their wearineſs, and exhauſted ſpirits; it will not appear ſurprizing, that the boldeſt amongſt them trembled, as in effect he who was foremoſt did. This ſerjeant telling the next man that he could mount no higher, and that his heart failed him, Bois-roſé, to whom this diſcourſe paſſed from mouth to mouth, and who perceived the truth of it by their advancing no higher, crept over the bodies of thoſe that were before him, adviſing each to keep firm, and got up to the foremoſt, whoſe ſpirits he at firſt endeavoured to

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to animate; but finding that gentleneſs would not prevail, he obliged him to mount by pricking him in the back with his poignard; and, doubtleſs, if he had not obeyed him, he would have precipitated him into the ſea. At length, with incredible labour and fatigue, the whole troop got to the top of the rock, a little before the break of day, and was introduced by the two ſoldiers into the caſtle, where they began to ſlaughter without mercy the centinels and the whole guard; ſleep delivered them up an eaſy prey to the enemy, who killed all that reſiſted, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the fort.

Bois-rose immediately ſent notice of this amazing ſucceſs to admiral Villars, and thought the government of the citadel he had ſo dearly bought was the leaſt reward he might expect. However, he heard that Villars, or rather the commandeur de Grillon *, had a deſign to drive him out of it. Amidſt the firſt tranſports of his rage for this injuſtice, he delivered the caſtle of Feſcamp to the king, whoſe converſion he had juſt been informed of. Villars, at this news, broke off the negociation which he had permitted madam de Simiers and la Font to carry on in his name, and ſent forces to inveſt Feſcamp. Boisroſé, finding himſelf too weak to make a long reſiſtance, called the king to his aid, who inſtantly ſet forward for Dieppe, and came to St Valery in Caux. When this hoſtility broke out, the three months truce was expired; but the king had been prevailed upon to prolong it for two or three months longer, upon the duke of Maïenne's repreſentation, that it was neceſſary he ſhould have more time to ſettle an affair of ſuch importance as his treaty, and that of the league, with the king. He failed not to exclaim againſt this violation of the truce, and ſent the count of Belin, governor of Paris, to the king, to complain of it. Belin came to St. Valery, acquitted

* Thomas Berton, governor of Honfleur, and brother to Grillon.

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himself of his commission, and demanded a farther prolongation of the truce for three months, which he said was no more than necessary for the duke of Maïenne to make known his last intentions at Rome and Madrid, whither he had sent cardinal de Joyeuse* and Montpezat for that purpose. The king, who perceived he only wanted to amuse him, rejected the count of Belin's proposals; and, without listening to any more complaints of the action, which his enemies had been the first cause of, marched directly to Fescamp, forced the troops of Villars to retire, and provided this fortress with plenty of all things necessary for its security.

The king, at his return to Mante, being informed that the marquis de Vitry† was inclined to receive him in Meaux, to favour the good intentions of this governor, he came to Lagny, where all things were so ordered, that he made his public entry into Meaux‡ on the first day of the year 1594. ‖ La Châtre immediately followed this example, with the cities of Orleans and Bourges.

The truce being at an end, the king laid siege to Ferté-Milon§. I would have taken this opportunity to finish the business that had carried me to Bontin, but his majesty commanded me to review some battalions of Swiss at Montereau**. I sent to madam

* Francis, the second of the seven sons of William de Joyeuse. Henry Des-Prés, sieur of Montpezat.

† Lewis de l'Hôpital, Marquis of Vitry.

‡ The duke of Maïenne upbraiding Vitry for having betrayed him, in delivering the city of Meaux into the king's hands, Vitry said to his messenger: "You press me too much: you will at last make me "speak as becomes a soldier. Suppose a thief had stolen a purse, "and confided it to my care; if afterwards, coming to the know-"ledge of the right owner, I should restore it him; and refuse to give "it back to the thief who had intrusted me with it, do you think I "should commit a wicked and treasonable action? I did nothing else "when I delivered up the city of Meaux." Memoirs for the History of France, tom. II.

‖ Claude de la Châtre.

§ Between Meaux and Soissons.

** Montereau faut-yonne, in Champagne.

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de Roſny to meet me at this place, from whence I intended to carry her to Mante: ſhe waited for me there to no purpoſe. Two days before that in which I was to review the Swiſs, I received new diſpatches from madam de Simiers and la Font, which informed me, that the man (meaning Villars) was appeaſed, and that nothing hindered me from reſuming the ſcheme that had been laid aſide. This affair the king thought of ſuch importance as not to admit of a moment's delay. The count de * Chaligny juſt then coming to the army with a paſſport for Paris, intreated the king to ſend a perſon whom he could depend upon, to conduct him to that city; and the king was willing that I ſhould take advantage of this opportunity, which offered me the means of procuring a more certain knowledge of the deſigns of the duke of Maïenne and the league, and of getting to Rouen ſecurely.

ACCORDINGLY, I accompanied the count de Chaligny to Paris; from whence, after having an interview with the duke of Maïenne, I went to Louviers, to the houſe of the ſieur de St. Bonnet, about two leagues from Rouen: from this place I ſent notice of my arrival to the perſons who managed our interview; they came to fetch me the next evening, and introduced me into Fort St. Catherine, where captain Boniface received and treated me very magnificently while we waited for Villars, who came at night, attended only by one ſervant; I likewiſe having none but my valet de chambre with me. We did not part till after a converſation that laſted two hours, which left me entirely ſatisfied of the intentions of this governor. Our interview was conducted with the utmoſt ſecrecy; for, beſides that the governors of the chief royaliſt cities in the neighbourhood of Rouen would not have failed, either through jealouſy or ſelf-intereſt, to croſs the negotiation, and

* Henry de Lorrain, count of Chaligny, of the family of Moüy.

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perhaps have done ſomething worſe, as in effect they did, as ſoon as they had any ſuſpicion of the affair; there were in this province a great number of forces, as well foreigners as thoſe belonging to the league, over whom Villars had no authority, and which might in a little time be joined by ſuch conſiderable ſupplies, as to make him repent of the meaſures he had engaged in.

I STAID five days in Fort St. Catherine with the ſame privacy; during which time I had ſeveral conferences with Villars, and entered upon the principal conditions for an accommodation. Intereſt was not here the greateſt difficulty to get over; he was leſs ſolicitous to gratify mercenary views, than to be convinced that the king, by treating with him, ſought not only to gain the capital of a province, but to bind to his intereſts a man whom he knew to be equally willing and able to ſerve him. It has been already obſerved, what idea Villars had conceived of the king: as ſoon as my diſcourſe had confirmed him in it, I could perceive the treaty to be in great forwardneſs; but I could not then go any farther, not having in writing the neceſſary powers for concluding it.

BUT to give a more perfect knowledge of this governor's character: his whole conduct was influenced by one or the other of two qualities that predominated in him, or was produced by their concurrence: theſe two qualities were, courage and integrity; the firſt inſpired that elevated generoſity, that inborn noble pride †, which in great ſouls is only a perception of their own worth, without the leaſt mixture of mean vanity, or the intoxication of ſelf-love; the ſecond produces ſincerity and truth, makes its owner incapable of artifice and ſurprize, and always ready to yield to reaſon and juſtice: he who unites theſe two qualities, has ſeldom any other fault

† M. de Thou, ſpeaking of admiral de Villars, ſays, that he was of a harſh and inſolent diſpoſition, book ciii.

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than being too quickly moved to ſudden eruptions of anger.

SUCH was Villars: and what I have ſtill to ſay concerning him will juſtify the truth of this character: there was too great a conformity between his diſpoſition and the king's to ſuffer him to continue long in a ſtate of enmity with him. The only difference between them was, that Henry, by often reflecting on the fatal effects of anger, by a habit acquired in a long courſe of misfortunes, by the neceſſity he was under of gaining friends; and laſtly, by the native tenderneſs of his heart, converted his firſt violent ſallies of rage into ſuch † emotions as

† Here is a piece of private hiſtory, extracted out of the Memoirs of the life of the preſident de Thou, which proves what the author ſays here concerning the character of Henry IV. and which has alſo ſome relation to what had been ſaid before upon the ſiege of Rouen. "One day that Grillon came into the king's cloſet to excuſe himſelf "upon his being reproached, that his going backwards and forwards, "to treat with the admiral, had afforded him an opportunity and "the means of making that furious ſally which has been mentioned, "he paſſed from excuſes to diſputes, then fell into a paſſion and utter"ed blaſphemies. The king, being exaſperated at this behaviour, "commanded him to go out; but as Grillon was coming back every "moment from the door, and they perceived that the king grew pale "with anger and impatience, they were afraid he would ſeize upon "ſomebody's ſword, and run the impudent fellow through. At laſt, "being come to himſelf, after Grillon went out, and turning to"wards the lords who attended him, and who, with de Thou, had "admired the patience with which he bore this inſolence, he ſaid to "them, Nature has formed me paſſionate, but ſince I have been ſen"ſible of this fault, I have always endeavoured to guard againſt the "dictates of ſo dangerous a paſſion; I know by experience that it is "a bad adviſer, and am glad to have ſuch good witneſſes of my mo"deration." It is certain, that his conſtitution, the fatigues he had endured, and the many viciſſitudes of fortune to which he had been ſubjected, had given him a firmneſs of ſoul, that was proof againſt the efforts of rage, but not the allurements of pleaſure. It was remarked, that while Grillon was thus conteſting with him, marſhal Biron, who was then in the king's room, ſitting upon a trunk, pretended to be aſleep; and as the diſpute grew warmer, his ſleep became more ſound; though Grillon came near him in order to abuſe him, and cried aloud in his ears, that he was a mangy ſnarling dog. The company were perſuaded that the marſhal only affected that deep ſleep, that he might not expoſe himſelf to the brutality of ſuch a fiery hot brained man; which would infallibly have

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were wholly under the government of his reason, and seldom appeared in his countenance or gesture, and still seldomer in his words.

‡ THE king was just come to Chartres, which place he had chosen ‖ for the ceremony of his coronation, when I joined him to give him an account of my journey, and to procure full powers for concluding the treaty with Villars. I had expected to depart again immediately, and did not imagine he would detain me with him ten or twelve days, which was really the case. He was then endeavouring to reconcile the count of Soissons and the duke of Montpensier, whose enmity was first occasioned by some disputes relating to the prerogatives of their rank as princes of the blood, and strengthened and confirmed by their competition for the same posts, the same governments, and, above all, for the same mistress, who was the princess Catherine, sister to the king. The duke of Montpensier had certainly the advantage in the king's favour, as well as in fortune, for he had immense estates; he appeared at the coronation with a train of four or five hundred gentlemen, while his rival could with difficulty maintain a dozen: but, poor as he was, without places, without governments, and disliked by the king ever since his escape from Rouen, he had this advantage over the duke, to possess intirely the heart of the princess. The countess of Guiche § was their confidant; she

" have happened if he had seemed to hear him. It was also believed, " that he was willing to leave the king all the fatigue of the conver- " sation."

‡ Feb. 17, 1594.

‖ Against a frivolous decree of the states of Blois, which annuls this ceremony unless it is made in the city of Rheims. It was decided, that his majesty should be crowned by Nicholas de Thou, bishop of this city, and not by the archbishop of Bourges, who claimed that honour as lord almoner; and that no use should be made of the *Sainte-Ampoule*, or holy bottle. See this ceremony described in the historians.

§ The same who had been mistress to Henry IV. but she was grown very fat, coarse, and red-faced. Journ. of the reign of Henry III. tom. i. p. 270.

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was acquainted with all their ſecrets, managed their correſpondence when they could not ſee each other, and ſo confirmed their mutual affection, that ſhe made them both ſign a contract of marriage, which the confuſion only of the times prevented them from ſolemnizing.

His majeſty was ſo paſſionately deſirous of reconciling theſe two princes of the blood to each other, that the treaty with Villars was ſuffered to ſtand ſtill, whilſt he applied himſelf wholly to this affair. He had no regard to my remonſtrance, nor to the danger there was in delaying it; he inſiſted upon my undertaking the difficult taſk of making them friends, conjointly with the biſhop of Evreux, whom he had pitched upon at firſt, but found he was not able to ſucceed alone, in ſo delicate an affair. It is certain, I ſtill preſerved a great ſhare of the count's eſteem, but I was well acquainted with his inſolent and haughty diſpoſition, and that the fear only of ſeeming to yield to a rival who was his ſuperior, would not only confirm him in his pretenſions, but perhaps, induce him to form new ones. I will not tire the reader with a detail of the diſputes, refuſals, and ſallies of ill humour which we were obliged to endure; we were more than once upon the point of giving up our taſk, as hopeleſs of ever accompliſhing it: however, by the force of arguments, founded upon the king's command, with much patience, and many importunities, we prevailed upon the two princes to ſee each other, and to embrace. I was not to anſwer for the ſincerity of this reconciliation: the article of their paſſion for the princeſs, and her marriage, which I carefully avoided mentioning, continuing ſtill undetermined, left the ſeeds of diviſion in their hearts: but this I looked upon as an inſurmountable obſtacle.

I was extremely well ſatisfied at having ſucceeded ſo far, without touching upon this article, and I now ſaw nothing to delay my journey to Rouen.

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But I was deceived: the king's extreme ſolicitude to reconcile theſe princes, was with a view of obtaining another end, which he ſtill more ardently deſired; and this was the very ſame that I thought I had ſo prudently laid aſide, the marriage of the princeſs his ſiſter. Unfortunately I was the perſon his majeſty fixed upon to accompliſh this deſign. I was commiſſioned to get the contract of marriage, which I have juſt mentioned, out of the hands of the parties concerned; that, this obſtacle being removed, the king, who was reſolved to refuſe the duke of Montpenſier nothing he demanded, might be able to make uſe of his authority to prevail upon the princeſs to receive him for a huſband, and by that means deliver himſelf from the apprehenſion of ſeeing a marriage concluded, which, though clandeſtinely, would be no leſs dangerous, ſince the count of Soiſſons would become his heir, whether he conſented to it or not, and make uſe of his own riches againſt him: and if this marriage produced any children, as there was no doubt but it would, that would give his majeſty, who had none, another cauſe for uneaſineſs.

I TREMBLED when I received the king's order for this purpoſe. I would have repreſented to him, that Villars would certainly engage himſelf in the enemy's party for ever, as would alſo Médavy, and ſeveral other governors in Normandy, unleſs I went immediately to thoſe places. The affair was reſolved upon; the king would not hear me, and only granted me what I aſked to inſure the ſucceſs of his ſcheme, which was, to give no ſuſpicion of my being employed in it, and to leave me the choice of what meaſures I thought neceſſary to take.

WHEN I was alone, and had reflected upon the nature of the commiſſion which I had received, I confeſs I was thrown into the utmoſt perplexity. From the knowledge I had of the princeſs Catherine's diſpoſition, from whom it was neceſſary to get this

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contract, I was convinced it was not in the power of human eloquence to make her approve of the king's deſigns with regard to her. How difficult a taſk! to perſuade a woman, and a princeſs, to renounce the man ſhe loved, and beſtow herſelf upon one whom ſhe hated. There was no probability of ſucceeding but by artifice. I endeavoured to vanquiſh my ſcruples by reflecting, that in deceiving the lady, though I did not conſult her inclination, yet I was attentive to her real intereſt; and that it was to free the king and kingdom from the bad conſequences that might attend her irregular conduct, which induced me to act in this manner. I flattered myſelf that the princeſs would one day think herſelf obliged to me, for having, by an innocent ſtratagem, prevented the ruin of her fortune, together with the loſs of the king her brother's friendſhip. Specious as theſe reaſons were, I cannot help confeſſing, that I did betray her; and this gave me pain. The impoſſibility of ſucceeding by any other means, and the hope that even ſhe would one day pardon the deceit, and confeſs that I had done her a real ſervice by it, was what at laſt determined me. As for the count, having no occaſion to make any application to him, and being likewiſe but little attached to him, the reſpect that was due to his perſon ought to be laid aſide, when it oppoſed the public utility, and what the ſervice of the king my maſter required of me. However, this affair, in the end, was the cauſe of great uneaſineſs to me, which my ſcruples, and the reluctance I had to engage in it, ſhould have preſerved me from.

THERE was ſtill another difficulty to be removed. I ſaw the princeſs very ſeldom, on account of the multiplicity of buſineſs in which I was engaged, and I knew her diſcernment too well to doubt that whatever meaſures I made uſe of obtain the contract in queſtion, my unuſual aſſiduity would, in a mind naturally diſtruſtful, create ſuſpicions which would

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put her upon her guard againſt all I could ſay or get others to ſay to her: I therefore endeavoured to act in ſuch a manner that ſhe ſhould prevent me herſelf. For this purpoſe I made uſe of the two Du-Perrons, who I knew (eſpecially the youngeſt) were of a humour to make their court to the Great at the expence of betraying a ſecret. I was intimate only with the biſhop of Evreux, the eldeſt: but one riſques nothing in depending upon the good opinion all men have of their own merit; on this article they are always their own dupes firſt. I went therefore to viſit the younger Du-Perron; I flattered him; I inſinuated myſelf into his favour by feigning to impart ſecrets to him. He began to think himſelf a man of vaſt importance, and, through vanity, believed every word I ſaid to him. When I perceived him intoxicated with ſelf-admiration, I told him (with all the appearances of the utmoſt ſincerity, exacting at the ſame time an oath of ſecrecy from him, which I ſhould have been very ſorry he had kept) that the king had imparted to me in confidence his intentions with regard to the princeſs; that he was reſolved to marry her to the count of Soiſſons; and that ſome little difficulties, which ſtill remained to be got over, prevented his majeſty from publicly declaring his deſign. I was aſſured two days only would be ſufficient for Du-Perron to get rid of this weighty ſecret, in ſuch a manner that it would reach the princeſs Catherine. Accordingly, a moment afterwards he told it, with injunctions of ſecrecy, to monſieur de Courtenai *, and two other of the count of Soiſſons moſt intimate confidants. They ran to inform the count of it, and he the princeſs and the counteſs of Guiche.

I DID not doubt but the princes, flattered with ſuch an agreeable hope, would make me the firſt advances; I was not deceived. Going to take leave of her, as a man juſt ready to undertake a long jour-

* Gaſpard de Courtenai.

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ney, I had a complete proof of Du-Perron's fidelity. The princeſs received me with more than uſual reſpect; and the counteſs of Guiche, not willing to loſe ſo favourable an opportunity, after ſome converſation upon indifferent matters, made haſte to bring the affair of the princeſs's marriage with the count, who was preſent, upon the carpet, and embracing me in tranſport of friendſhip, "See," ſaid ſhe to the lovers, "a man who is able to ſerve you." The princeſs then, addreſſing herſelf to me, told me, that I knew the count and her had always eſteemed me greatly; and that ſhe, in particular, would be extremely obliged to me, if I would aſſiſt her endeavours to reſtore herſelf to the favour of the king her brother. She ſpoke only theſe few words, and left the care of ſaying more to that inſinuating and graceful air, which ſhe knew better than any other woman in the world how to aſſume when ſhe pleaſed. I ſeemed to be abſolutely gained, and after thanking the princeſs for the honour ſhe did me, I added, that if I might depend upon the ſecrecy of all that were then preſent, I would inform them of ſome circumſtances which would not be indifferent to them. Women make no ſcruple to promiſe ſecrecy, though they have been always accuſed of performing that promiſe very ill. The princeſs and her confident added an oath to the aſſurances they gave me; but it was not my deſign to explain myſelf farther at that time. I aſked them for three days delay: they aſſiſted me in finding an excuſe for deferring my journey to Rouen; and I took leave of the company, who impatiently expected the time I had preſcribed.

I WAS punctual to my appointment, and waited upon the princeſs at the expiration of the three days. I ſuffered myſelf to be preſſed a long time before I would diſcloſe my ſecret; at laſt, ſeeming to yield to the importunity of the two ladies, I told them, that having ſeveral times ſounded the king upon the marriage in queſtion, he at firſt ſhewed ſome reluctance

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to it, without caring to explain himself farther; but my earneſt intreaties had at length prevailed upon him to open his heart to me upon this ſubject; and he confeſſed, that far from feeling any repugnance to conclude this marriage, he thought it a very proper one; and ſince that he had no iſſue of his own, he ſhould be overjoyed to ſee the offspring of his ſiſter and a prince of his blood, whom he would look upon as his own children: that the gentle and complying diſpoſition of the count of Soiſſons and the princeſs was highly agreeable to him, but that he would find it very difficult to forget that the count had endeavoured to deceive him, and to obtain his ſiſter without his conſent. This ſpeech, every word of which I had concerted before, produced the effect I deſigned it ſhould: the two lovers and their confidant began to confeſs they had acted indiſcretely, and to condemn themſelves for conducting the affair with ſuch a ſpirit of independence. This was what I waited for: I ſeized this opportunity to convince them that I believed the offence might be ſoon repaired; that the king was naturally kind, and eaſily forgot paſt injuries; all that was now neceſſary to be done, was to behave in a quite contrary manner, to ſolicit his favour, ſeem abſolutely dependent upon him, leave him maſter of their deſtiny; in fine (and this was the moſt difficult point of all) ſacrifice to him the contract they had both ſigned, as being what he was moſt offended with; and not to fear giving him even a declaration in writing, in which they ſhall both bind themſelves not to marry without his conſent: after this condeſcenſion, I told them, on their ſide, I believed I might aſſure them, that in leſs than three months the king would himſelf prevent their deſires, and unite them for ever.

I FOUND no difficulty in gaining credit to theſe aſſurances, and that very inſtant they promiſed to reſign the contract of marriage, poſſibly becauſe they thought it would be of no uſe to them, if the king, when he

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became abſolute maſter in his dominions, ſhould not agree to it. The counteſs of Guiche ſaid ſhe had left it at Bearn, but would ſend for it immediately. They did not ſo eaſily yield to the declaration I demanded afterwards, and without which their reſigning the contract ſignified nothing, ſince the parties might, whenever they pleaſed, renew it. This was the very argument I made uſe of to enforce the neceſſity of giving it; and I convinced them, that without this the king could neither depend upon their ſincerity, nor be aſſured of their obedience. This article was ſtrongly conteſted; and when at laſt, by the force of remonſtrances, I obtained a writing, by which the princeſs and the count cancelled all promiſes that had paſſed between them, releaſed each other from any engagement, and ſubmitted themſelves abſolutely to the king's diſpoſal, the conſequence of this writing alarmed them, and they had recourſe to a medium, without which it is probable the affair had reſted as it was: this medium was, that I only ſhould be intruſted with it, and ſhould not ſuffer it to go out of my hands, not even though the king ſhould require it. Luckily they did not add, that it ſhould be returned to the princeſs, if matters took an unfavourable turn. I promiſed them upon my word and honour, that I would not part with it; which ſatisfied them entirely, and the writing was delivered to me, in form, ſigned by the princeſs and the count, and ſealed with their arms. The king's joy for my ſucceſs, which he durſt hardly flatter himſelf with the hopes of, was conſiderably leſs, when he found the writing was to remain in my hands: he often intreated me earneſtly to give it him; but finding, by my perſiſting to refuſe him, that the obedience I owed him could not influence me to a breach of my promiſe, he no longer ſolicited me to it. The two lovers ſeeing the agreeable hopes I had given them ſtill

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ſtill unaccompliſhed, could not, as it may be well imagined, pardon me for having deceived them: the ſucceeding part of theſe Memoirs will ſhew how they reſented it.

AFTER the concluſion of this affair, which I cannot remember without pain, I was wholly employed in preparing for my journey to Rouen. I was apprehenſive, and not without reaſon, that ſo long a delay had abſolutely broke all my firſt meaſures with admiral Villars: however, I obtained full powers † from the king to conclude a treaty, not only with this governor, but alſo with all the other governors and officers of the province. Juſt as I was going to ſet out, Deſportes arrived, and ſtopped me once more; he was ſent by the baron de Médavy to the biſhop of Evreux, to deſire that he would lend him his houſe of Condé for a little time; and alſo prevail upon me to come thither, that he might confer with me upon the conditions of his treaty, and that of Verneuil. I left Chartres, and came in the evening to Anet, madam d'Aumale having long earneſtly ſolicited me to viſit her there.

THIS lady, who had more underſtanding and prudence than her huſband, conjured him inceſſantly to break with the league, and reſign himſelf wholly to the king. She was ſenſible, that not only his duty and ſafety required that he ſhould take this ſtep, but his intereſt likewiſe; for the duke d'Aumale's ‡ domeſtic affairs were in ſuch diſorder, that there was no other way to avoid approaching ruin, but by being amongſt the firſt that returned to their duty and obedience on this occaſion, and were therefore diſtinguiſhed with very conſiderable rewards. I alighted at an inn in Anet, and while my ſupper was pre-

† The preſent duke of Sully has the original of this full power in his poſſeſſion, as likewiſe many of the originals of Maximilian de Bethune's letters upon this ſubject.

‡ Charles de Lorrain, duke of Aumale, who died in 1631, in his retirement at Bruſſels; his wife was Mary de Lorrain, daughter of René, duke of Elbeuf.

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paring,

paring, went to wait upon madam d'Aumale, attended only by one page. To the joy that animated the countenance of this lady the moment she perceived me, she added the favour of a most obliging and friendly reception; and that she might not waste moments so precious, took my hand, and made me walk with her in those fine galleries and gardens which make Anet a most enchanting place: here she expressed to me her earnest desire to have her husband return to the obedience he owed his sovereign, and named the conditions upon which he might be induced to consent to it. I omit all the propositions, either approved or rejected, that passed between us. Hitherto I had seen nothing but what did honour to the master of a house truly royal; and I should have been ignorant of the deplorable extremity to which the duke was reduced, if she had not intreated, and even forced me to sup with her, and to stay there all night. After a repast, which we waited for a long time, and when it came was as bad as the attendance we had at it, I was conducted into a very large chamber, all shining with marble, but almost destitute of furniture, and so cold, that I could neither get heat, nor sleep in a bed, where the short narrow silk curtains, one thin coverlid, and damp sheets, were sufficient to benumb one with cold, even in the midst of summer: not able to continue in bed, I rose, and thought to secure myself against the inconveniences of my damp lodging by making a fire, but I could find no other wood to burn than green holm and juniper, which it was impossible to kindle: I was obliged therefore to wear my gown the whole night, by which means I was very early awake, and joyfully quitting so disagreeable a lodging, I went to join my attendants, the meanest of whom fared better, and passed the night more comfortably than their master.

I MADE myself amends for this fatigue at Condé, where I found every conveniency that could contribute

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bute towards an agreeable reception: as ſoon as I arrived, I got into a good bed, Médavy not being expected till noon. At firſt he regulated his behaviour according to that notion, that in ſuch a conjuncture as the preſent the moſt inconſiderable nobleman has a right to ſet ten times a greater value upon himſelf than he is worth; he performed his part perfectly well, by an air of falſe diſtruſt, and an affected ſuperiority, which he imagined would procure him ſome advantage. I contraſted his vanity with a frankneſs that ſhewed it to himſelf, and told him calmly, that if he waited till the great cities came to an accommodation, he, who had only Verneuil to offer, his ſacrifice would immediately loſe half of its value; and that afterwards perhaps his propoſals would not be liſtened to, and no reward granted him. My ſincerity forced him to be candid likewiſe; he appeared more reaſonable, and we ſoon agreed: he only intreated me not to make the affair public till the end of March, becauſe he had engaged to Villars to do nothing without his participation. He ſent Deſportes with me to Rouen, to pay this compliment to the governor, and to obſerve, at the ſame time, whether I concluded the treaty with Villars, whoſe accommodation drew his along with it, in ſome meaſure neceſſarily.

I CAME to Louviers the next day, from whence making known my arrival to admiral Villars, he ſent the captain of his guards to receive me at the gate of the city. I did not enter ſecretly as before, but publicly, and with a kind of pomp. The ſtreets were filled with the people; and the hopes of a peace, by which quiet and commerce would be reſtored to their city, drew loud acclamations of joy from them as I paſſed. Villars had cauſed the fineſt houſe in Rouen to be prepared for the reception of me and my train, which conſiſted of twelve or fifteen gentlemen; and had given all the neceſſary orders for treating us magnificently. La-Font, who had

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the care of my reception, waited to conduct me thither: he outdid his master, and at night gave me the music, and the diversion of dancers, and jugglers, whom I could not prevail upon to receive either money or presents. I sent Du-Perat to make my compliments to the admiral, madam de Simiers, and the abbé de Tiron †, who all had a great share in the management of this affair: they returned me the same civility a few moments after by the sieur de Perdriel, and desired him to tell me, that I must rest this day, and we should enter upon business the next. This, however, did not hinder the abbot from visiting me in the evening, without ceremony: indeed his whole conduct upon this occasion discovered a degree of rectitude and sincerity rarely to be found in such negotiations.

I FOUND by his discourse that the king had been within a very little of losing Villars irretrievably. A deputy from Spain, named don Simon-Antonio, and another called Chapelle Marteau ‡, from the duke of Maïenne, came to Rouen some days before my arrival, and had made very advantageous proposals to this governor; he had likewise daily received letters from the catholics, even those in the king's party, which tended to raise unfavourable suspicions of his majesty's designs, and to prejudice him against a negotiation entrusted to a protestant agent: this argument had great weight with Villars, always zealous for his religion, and would have infallibly determined him for the enemies party, if in this perplexity his mind had not been ballanced by other letters from the cardinal of Bourbon, the bishop of Evreux, and the marquis de Vitry, who all assured him he might depend upon the king's word and my sincerity. Tiron shewed me part of each of these letters, and thought it necessary to warn me, that the admiral, having been perpetually beset by deputies

† Philip Des-Portes, abbot of Josephat, Tiron, and Bonport.
‡ Michael Marteau, sieur de la Chapelle.

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from the league, and offended likewiſe at the delays that had been uſed with him, I muſt not expect to vanquiſh his irreſolution without ſuffering ſome of thoſe ſallies of rage, ſo natural to him, and which with a little patience it was eaſy to allay.

I WENT to wait on † Villars, well prepared to ſuſtain all theſe little aſſaults, and at firſt perceived plainly that the ſight of me awakened ſome remains of diſtruſt and anger in his mind. My behaviour ſoon diſſipated this cloud, and he with great calmneſs and ſerenity propoſed his conditions, which were comprized under the following heads: That he ſhould continue ſtill in his poſt of admiral, which had been beſtowed on him by the league; and in his government of Rouen poſſeſs a power independent of the duke of Montpenſier, governor of that province, at leaſt during three years; and that this power ſhould extend over the bailiwics of Rouen and Caux: That the exerciſe of the proteſtant religion ſhould not be allowed in this capital, nor ſix leagues about it: That all the officers poſted by the league in the cities belonging to his government ſhould be continued there, with fifteen hundred foot, and three hundred horſe, to be maintained by the king for the ſecurity of thoſe cities: That his majeſty ſhould give him the ſum of an hundred and twenty thouſand livres to pay his debts, and a yearly penſion of ſixty thouſand: That Feſcamp ſhould be delivered to him: And laſtly, that he ſhould have the diſpoſal of the abbeys of Jumiéges, Tiron, Bonport, la Valaſe, Saint-Taurin, and that of Montiviliers, which he deſigned for a ſiſter of madam de Simiers.

IF all theſe articles had as much depended upon me as that relating to the abbey of Saint-Taurin,

† M. de Villars, in the Memoirs of thoſe times, is repreſented to be of a haughty diſpoſition, and ſubject to frequent tranſports of anger. It is there obſerved, that the baron de Roſny was the only one that could ſucceed in theſe negotiations. Memoirs for the hiſtory of France, vol. II. Theſe negotiations of the baron de Roſny are alſo commended by M. de Thou, book cix.

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which was my own, and which I immediately yielded to Villars, the treaty had been concluded without any farther delay; and this I assured him of with regard to those wherein the king was absolute master. But however full and extensive the powers I had received from his majesty were, I could do nothing in those articles which regarded the duke of Montpensier, and Biron, who was invested with the post of admiral, and in possession of Fescamp, which he had got from Bois-rosé, on a promise of indemnification, that had not yet been fulfilled; and I did not think I had a right to settle this affair without informing the king of it. As I did not hesitate upon any of those conditions which depended immediately upon the king to grant, I expected that Villars would have been satisfied with my conduct; but this governor going out with the deputies from the league at the very moment that I was endeavouring to make him comprehend my reasons, he interrupted me hastily with these few words, pronounced with great fury: "That I might spare myself the trouble "of talking to him any more, since he was deter-"mined either to finish the treaty upon the spot, or "break it off entirely."

ALTHOUGH I was a little stunned with this unforeseen blow, I answered Villars calmly, that I was persuaded the king would grant him the three articles in question, as well as all the others (that of the Fescamp making two, because Bois-rosé was concerned in it:) That this need not hinder us from drawing up the treaty, and even signing it that moment, as if every thing was agreed to, inserting only this note in the margin over against the three articles, *To be determined by the king.* And, to convince him that I sought not to gain time, in order to betray him afterwards, I offered to remain in his power as an hostage, till his majesty returned an answer. Villars still started new difficulties, but he could not resist madam de Simiers, the abbot Tiron, and la Font,

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Font, who all ſupported my arguments. I had the treaty drawn up in haſte, we ſigned it; and I ſent a copy of it immediately to the king, with a long letter, in which I gave him an account of all that had paſſed. But before the anſwer could be brought to Rouen, an incident happened, which we once imagined would have rendered it uſeleſs.

Moſt of the governors of the ſmall forts in the neighbourhood of Rouen, far from returning to the duty and obedience they owed their king, perſiſted in their revolt, becauſe, in the preſent confuſed ſtate of affairs, they acquired gains, which they foreſaw would ceaſe with the war. The moſt artful amongſt them made themſelves equally neceſſary to each of the contending parties, and exacted bribes from both. Du Rollet, governor of Pont de l'Arche, was one of thoſe that acted on theſe principles with the greateſt ſubtilty. He had for more than a year flattered the king with hopes that he would fall upon means to deliver the city of Rouen and its governor into his hands, provided he would give the government of this place to him, which his majeſty at all events gave him a written promiſe of. Du Rollet, failing in an enterprize which exceeded his abilities, took it into his head to blaſt my negociation, which he attempted in this manner.

He commanded an officer named Dupré to mingle with my train as I paſſed through Pont de l'Arche, and to enter Rouen with me. I had been informed that du Rollet was diſaffected, but I had no reaſon to ſuſpect this officer of having any bad deſigns, nor could I hinder him from following me. I was likewiſe abſolutely ignorant of this Dupré's being the very ſame perſon that had been employed by du Rollet before to cabal againſt Villars in Rouen †. He

† During the ſiege of Rouen, du Rollet endeavouring to throw himſelf into that city, was taken and ſhut up in the old caſtle; where however, it is probable, he ſtill continued to carry on intrigues for the king's intereſt. Cayet, b. iv. p. 214.

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was no sooner entered, than, renewing his former acquaintance, he put himself at the head of a party of rash inconsiderate persons, with whom he had laid a plot to seize the old palace, and secure the governor's person; persuading them that he acted thus by my orders. As he had no other design than to alarm the governor, and to inspire him with the utmost detestation of me, he was not at much trouble to keep the affair secret; in effect, Villars was informed of it immediately,

THE excess of anger this news threw him into, and the injurious thoughts it inspired him with against the king, and especially me, may be easily imagined. Convinced that he had now an incontestible proof of my treachery, he would not examine the matter any farther, but sent d'Insencourt to me that moment, to desire I would come to him. I had dined that day with la Pile, attorney-general of the chamber of accounts, and had just received letters which pleased me exceedingly. The king granted Villars the three articles that had been referred to him, and engaged to procure the consent of the parties concerned. Over against these articles, I had written upon the margin of the original treaty which I had carried with me, *To be agreed by his majesty's command.* I promised myself great pleasure in thus surprizing Villars, who could not expect such quick dispatch; and went out of la Pile's house with the treaty in one hand, holding a white scarf which I had put into my pocket in the other, intending to throw it about Villars' neck, and embracing him, to salute him admiral and governor of the districts of Rouen and Caux. The contrariety of reflections that employed our minds as we advanced towards each other had, I believe, something in it very uncommon.

MY gaiety was soon overcast, for Villars perceiving me at a distance, came towards me with hasty strides, his face swelled and inflamed, his eyes sparkling, and all his looks and gestures expressive of the most

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most violent transports of fury. He began by snatching the paper out of my hand, and not giving me time to speak, with a voice so altered by this inward agitation that it was scarcely articulate, he stammered out these words, too remarkable, not to be related exactly.

"So, sir, where, in the devil's name, are you going so airy, and so full of mirth? By heavens you have not yet attained your purpose, and before the game is ended, you may perhaps have no cause to smile, at least if I treat you as you deserve. You are out in your reckoning, you, and your king of Navarre also, for by my soul he has got a --- in the basket; and if he can find no other footman than Villars, I fancy he will be but badly served." Saying this, he tore the treaty in a thousand pieces, and threw them into the fire. Having given the reins to his fury, he added an infinite number of invectives of the same tone, and equally extravagant, intermingling them with oaths, the rage he was in furnishing him with an inexhaustible source of them.

THAT I suffered him to go on thus, without interruption, was at first owing to my astonishment, or rather indeed to the necessity I was under of hearing him, and afterwards to the reflection that these sorts of dispositions cannot bear contradiction: at length stopping of himself, he began to traverse his chamber, which was very long and wide, like a man out of his senses. "Well, sir," said I, when I found he was silent, "have you done yet talking "at random? You have reason to be satisfied at "having thus behaved like a madman, without be-"ing contradicted in your extravagancies." Perceiving that the calm manner in which I spoke to him, obliged him, in spite of himself, to listen to me, I proceeded to tell him, that what he had just said and done in my presence appeared to be nothing but an artifice he had conceived to retract the word he had so solemnly given; but that this turn would always dishonour him, and greatly lessen my opinion of his wisdom

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and integrity. "'Sdeath," cried he, ſtopping ſhort, "I never did, nor never will deſerve or ſuffer ſuch "a reproach. I am a man of too much honour; "ſuch evaſions are only fit for thoſe that betray "their friends, and endeavour to get them aſſaſſi-"nated." Hitherto he had ſaid nothing ſo plain as this laſt word, by which, though I could not comprehend the whole extent of his meaning, yet I was able to gueſs from whence ſo furious a behaviour proceeded.

I DEMANDED an explanation, and proteſted to him, with that air of ſincerity and confidence with which even the moſt prejudiced cannot help being affected, that I was abſolutely ignorant of his meaning; and that if I could be convicted of any unfair proceedings with regard to him, I was ready to deliver myſelf into his hands, without deſiring either pardon or favour. Thus obliging him to be more explicit, he reproached me with having employed Dupré to aſſaſſinate him, and ſeize upon the old palace. The violence of this agitation not permitting him to ſpeak otherwiſe than in broken and interrupted ſentences, the affair appeared to me utterly improbable, and I could not hinder myſelf from entertaining ſome ſuſpicions of his ſincerity, nor from telling him, that he had been ſeduced by Spaniſh piſtoles to contrive ſuch a ſlight pretence for breaking with me. "Who I?" cried he, relapſing again into a rage. "'Sdeath, "muſt I confeſs that I have acted treacherouſly with "you, and broke my oath? I would rather die than "be guilty of ſuch baſeneſs." "By heaven, ſir," anſwered I, "you teach me to ſwear, it is only by "your fulfilling or breaking off the treaty, that I "ſhall know whether to believe you an honeſt or a "perjured man."

WE continued thus expoſtulating a long time, which increaſed rather than leſſened our mutual diſſatisfaction; ſo that at laſt we both became equally enraged. During this conteſt the abbot de Tiron came

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came in, and entering immediately into the occasion of our quarrel, reduced us both to reason. "Depend upon it, sir," said he to Villars, "the baron de Rosny is not guilty of the schemes that have "been laid against you; he is a man of too much "honour; and, in such a case, too prudent to throw "himself into your power."

These few words explained every thing. I turned calmly towards Villars, telling him, that I was convinced anger alone had been the cause of all the injurious things he had said; and that I expected, as soon as it was allayed, he would repair his fault, by performing his first promise. "Well, sir," said he, already half pacified, "I will keep my word: but "take care also not to fail of yours, with regard to "the three articles yet undetermined." I answered, that if it had not been for his fury, which made him throw the treaty into the fire, he might have seen that the king consented to grant him them all.

We were upon these terms when madam de Simiers was introduced. "Don't be angry with me, "madam," said he, as he went to receive her: "all "is over, we are good friends again; but by hea-"ven, the traitor that made all this mischief shall "die before I eat or drink." He kept his word, for causing Dupré to be brought before him, after he had confessed the whole affair, he ordered him, without the formality of a trial, to be hung up at a window.

Villars intreated me afterwards to shew him the king's letter. I did not scruple to tell him, that his majesty's secrets ought only to be communicated to his open and declared servants. To make Villars of this number, nothing more was necessary but to draw up the treaty again, which we signed, and each of us kept a duplicate of it. It was agreed between us, that the affair should remain a secret for some time, on account of the league and the Spaniards, against whom this governor took new mea-

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ſures, by reinforcing the troops he had in Rouen. After this, I no longer made any difficulty in ſhewing him all my letters, as well thoſe which I had written to and received from the king before, as that in which I informed him of the ratification of the treaty, and his majeſty's anſwer to it. The courier who carried theſe laſt diſpatches was not more than four hours on his journey.

THESE letters gave great ſatisfaction to Villars, particularly the laſt, written by the king's own hand. His majeſty in that thanked me more like a friend than a ſovereign, for the ſervice I had juſt done him, and concluded with theſe words, "Come to me at "Senlis, on the 20th of March, or at Saint Denis "on the 21ſt, that you may help to cry *Long live* "*the king* in Paris, and afterwards we will do the "ſame at Rouen:" for I wrote to him that his preſence there was neceſſary. "Shew this letter," added he, "to the new friend you have acquired me, "that he may ſee I do not forget him, and be con-"vinced that I love him, and know how to prize "and reward ſuch brave men as he is." "By hea-"ven," ſaid Villars at this place, "this prince is "too gracious and obliging to remember me, and "ſpeak of me in ſuch advantageous terms." From that moment, Villars continued firm in his obedience and affection to the king; nor had his majeſty amongſt his moſt ancient ſervants one more abſolutely devoted to his intereſts than him. He deſired me to be ſatisfied with his word for the faithful execution of all the articles comprehended in the treaty, and I accepted it as the beſt ſecurity he could give me.

THE remainder of the time that I ſtaid in Rouen was employed in regulating ſome affairs of the ſame nature. I uſually ſpent the day with the admiral, and at night retired to my apartment, to give audience to all the officers as well of the city and parliament, as of the army, that were ſcattered throughout

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out that province, and who came to me privately to concert measures for separating the people from the interests of the league. Médavy was of this number, and I concluded the treaty with him. Verneuil not being a city of such importance as to make it necessary to use the same precautions with it as with Rouen, the king ordered Médavy to publish his treaty, for an example to the other governors.

As I was sollicitous not to neglect meeting his majesty at the place he had appointed me, I made haste to leave Rouen. After receiving from the governor every instance of gratitude and respect, I took a leave equally affectionate of the abbot de Tiron, and madam de Simiers, promised them to return soon, and assured madam de Simiers, I would bring her brother, the marquis de Vitry, along with me, with a body of troops sufficient to put Villars into a condition to explain himself without danger. The obligations I owed to them were great enough to demand this service of me, although his majesty's interest had not been an additional motive to it.

It was upon some correspondencies the king carried on in Paris that he founded his hopes of being soon admitted there, and he was on his way thither from St. Denis when I joined him. His party in that city was so firmly united, and so many persons of equal courage and fidelity had joined, that it was almost impossible but that it should succeed. Ever since the battle of Arques, when the count Belin was taken prisoner by the king's forces, and had an opportunity of discovering the great qualities of that prince contrasted with the weakness of his enemies, the duke of Maïenne perceived the inclinations of this governor to lean secretly towards the king. Full of this suspicion, he did not hesitate a moment about depriving him † of the government of so considerable

† The parliament upon this occasion made a decree, highly honourable for the count of Belin. The citizens are there exhorted rather to

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a city as Paris, and sought for a man whose fidelity to himself and the league could be depended upon, to entrust the care of this great city to, at a time when the necessity of his affairs obliged him to repair to the frontier of Picardy; accordingly he fixed upon Brissac †, and bestowed this government upon him.

Brissac, at first, answered his purpose perfectly well. The study of the Roman history had inspired this officer (who valued himself greatly upon his penetration and judgment) with a very singular project, which was, to form France into a republic upon the model of ancient Rome, and make Paris the capital of this new state. Had Brissac descended ever so little from these lofty ideas to an attention to particular circumstances, which in the greatest designs it is necessary to have some regard to, he would have perceived that a scheme, however happily imagined, may, by the nature of the obstacles which oppose it, by the difference of the genius, and character of the people, by the force of those laws they have adopted, and by long custom, which, as it were, stamps a seal upon them, become alike chimerical and impracticable. Time only and long experience can bring remedies to the defects in the customs of a state whose form is already determined; and this ought always to be attempted with a view to the plan of its original constitution ‡: this is so certain, that whenever we see a state conducted by measures contrary to those made use of in its foundation, we

to partake than suffer his banishment from the city. Memoirs for the history of France, vol. II. Memoirs of the league, vol. VI.

† Charles de Cossé, count of Brissac, marechal of France.

‡ The sense in which the duke of Sully understands this axiom, and the true one in which it ought to be taken, is, that the ancient form and fundamental principles of government are to be changed as little as possible; he does not mean, that we are to admit the abuses which ignorance or necessity have introduced in the different institutions relating to the finances, policies, &c. He will treat this subject more largely in the sequel of these Memoirs.

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may be assured a great revolution is at hand; nor do the application of the best remedies operate upon diseases that resist their force.

Brissac did not go so far; he could not for a long time comprehend from whence the general opposition his designs met with proceeded, for he had explained himself freely to the nobles and all the chief partisans of the league: at last he began to be apprehensive for his own safty, lest while, without any assistance, he was labouring to bring his project to perfection, the king should destroy it entirely, by seizing his capital. Possessed with this fear, the Roman ideas quickly gave place to the French spirit of those times, which was to be solicitous only for his own advantage. When self-interested motives are strengthened by the apprehension of any danger, there are few persons who will not be induced by them to betray even their best friend. Thus Brissac† acted: he entered into the count of Belin's resolutions, but from a motive far less noble and generous; and thought of nothing but making the king purchase, at the highest price, the treachery he meditated against the duke of Maïenne, in his absence. St. Luc‡, his brother-in-law, undertook to negotiate with the king in his name, and having procured very advantageous conditions, Brissac agreed to admit Henry with his army into Paris, in spite of the Spaniards. The troops of the league were absolutely at his disposal, and they had no reason to apprehend any opposition from the people.

D'O § lost no time in making application for the government of Paris, and the isle of France, and

† The duke of Maïenne, as de Thou observes, was informed of Brissac's treachery by the duchess of Guise his mother, but he would not believe her. See the reduction of the city of Paris, Matt. vol. II. b. i. p. 174. Chron. Novenn. b. vi. p. 334. and other historians.

‡ Francis d'Epinay, lord of St. Luc, master-general of the ordnance.

§ Our Memoirs make no mention of monsieur d'O's being deprived by the league of this government, which Henry III. had bestowed upon him. Peref. 2d part.

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obtained his requeſt; but now a conflict between his intereſt and ambition ſo perplexed this ſuperintendant, that, notwithſtanding his new dignity, the reduction of Paris was amongſt the number of thoſe things he moſt feared ſhould happen: he would have had it believed, that the true motive of this fear was, leſt the finances ſhould become a prey to the men of the ſword and gown, by whom, he ſaid, the king, as ſoon as he was poſſeſſed of Paris, would be oppreſſed from the payment of penſions, appointments, and rewards. But this diſcourſe deceived none but thoſe who were ignorant of the advantage he found in keeping the affairs of the finances in their preſent ſtate of confuſion, and with what ſucceſs he had hitherto laboured for that purpoſe.

THE king, upon this occaſion, put all the friends of the count of Belin in motion, on whom he had no leſs dependence than upon Briſſac; and at nine o'clock in the morning preſented himſelf †, at the head of eight thouſand men, before Porte Neuve, where the ‖ mayor of Paris, and the other magiſtrates, received him in form. He went immediately, and took poſſeſſion of the Louvre, the Palace, the Great and Little Châtelet, and found no oppoſition any where; he proceeded even to the church of Nôtre Dame, which he entered to return thanks to God for his ſucceſs. His ſoldiers, on their ſide, fulfilled

† March 21.

‡ This Mayor of Paris was John l'Huillier, who when Briſſac ſaid to him, "We muſt render to Cæſar the things that are Cæſar's," he replied, "We muſt render them, indeed, but not ſell them to him." F. l'Etoile's Journal aſcribes this repartee to Henry IV. L'Huillier was rewarded with the poſt of preſident of the chamber of accounts, and counſellor of ſtate; and Martin Langlois, an alderman, was made mayor of Paris in his room. Le Grain, b. vi. It is obſerved, in the volume of MSS. marked 9033. in the king's library, that Henry IV. entering Paris by the new gate, which has ſince been called the gate of the conference, he went out again, and returned ſeveral times, fearing, notwithſtanding the repeated aſſurances of the mayor and aldermen, that by permitting his troops to enter Paris, their deſign was to cut them in pieces, and ſeize his troops.

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with such exactness the orders † and intentions of their master, that no one throughout this great city complained of having received any outrage from them. They took possession of all the squares and cross-ways in the streets, where they drew up in order of battle. All was quiet; and from that day the shops were opened with all the security which a long and continued peace would have given.

THE Spaniards had now only the Bastille, the Temple, and the quarters of St. Anthony and St. Martin in their possession; and there they fortified themselves, being about four thousand in number, with the duke de Feria and don Diego d'Evora at their head; all greatly astonished at such unexpected news ‡, and firmly resolved to defend themselves to the last extremity, if any attempts were made to force them from those advantageous posts. The king relieved them from their perplexity, by sending to tell them, that they might leave Paris, and retreat in full security. He treated the cardinals of Placentia and Pellevé with the same gentleness, notwithstanding the resentment he still retained for their conduct with regard to him. Soissons was the place whither these enemies of the king § retired, protected

† The king, perceiving a soldier to take a loaf from a baker by force, ran to him and would have killed him. L'Etoile's Journal. Perefixe says, that la Noüe being arrested for debts which his father contracted in this prince's service, complained to him of that insolence. The king, in public, said to him, "La Noüe, you must pay "your debts, I pay mine;" but afterwards, taking him aside, he gave him his jewels to pawn to the creditors, instead of the baggage they had seized of his. Peref. part 2d.

‡ L'Etoile observes, that this news being brought to the Spaniards while Langlois was amusing them with relating circumstances out of the Roman history, the duke of Feria cried out two or three times, "He is a great king." L'Etoile's Journal.

§ The king had a mind to see them march out, and looked at them from a window over St. Denis's gate. They all saluted him with their hats off, bowing profoundly low. The king, with great politeness, returned the salute to the principal officers, adding these words, "Remember me to your master; go, I permit you, but re-"turn no more." Peref. 2d part. This anecdote agrees with that in

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by a ſtrong eſcort. His majeſty then publiſhed a general pardon † for all the French who had borne arms againſt him. When this ſacrifice is not extorted by neceſſity, but, on the contrary, made at a time when vengeance has full liberty to ſatiate itſelf, it is not one of the leaſts marks of a truly royal diſpoſition. Madam de ‡ Montpenſier being introduced to the king, he received her as politely, and converſed as familiarly with her, as if he had ſome very important reaſon for ſparing her the confuſion which any other perſon in his ſituation would have been fond of throwing her into §.

THE king had not yet found an opportunity to converſe with me upon the negotiations of Rouen; therefore that evening, when the croud of courtiers had quitted his apartment, he took me aſide to a window in the Louvre, and made me give him a circumſtantial relation of all that had paſſed, even to the minuteſt incidents; to which he liſtened with the utmoſt attention. He accuſed himſelf of being the cauſe of du Rollet's unſeaſonable attempt, by

the Memoirs for the hiſtory of France; but is contradicted by the Journal written by the ſame author.

† All the Memoirs of thoſe times are filled with inſtances of Henry's clemency, and his ſprightly and agreeable repartees. See the Memoirs above cited. A leaguer coming to him one day when he was playing at primero, "You are welcome," ſaid the king to him, "for if we win, you will be ours." Le Grain, book x.

‡ Catherina-Maria of Lorrain, widow of Lewis of Bourbon, duke of Montpenſier.

§ Pereſixe obſerves, that he played at cards with her that very evening. L'Etoile adds, that he returned both hers and madam de Nemours' viſit; and relates a very extraordinary converſation that paſſed between this prince and her; at the end of which, madam de Montpenſier, whoſe hatred for Henry was publicly known, taking notice of his entering Paris, ſhe wiſhed that it had been her brother the duke of Maïenne who had let down the bridge for his majeſty. "Adzookers," replied the king, "he might poſſibly have made me wait "a long time, and I ſhould not have entered ſo early." This lady, purſued he, hearing the populace cry, *Long live the king*, ſaid, laughing, that Briſſac had done more than his wife, who in fifteen years had made but one cuckow ſing; whereas he, in eight days, had made more than twenty thouſand parrots ſing in Paris. L'Etoile, ann. 1594.

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not acquainting me with the propoſals he had made him, which would have put me upon my guard againſt all that could have happened from that quarter.

THE king had not yet mentioned to the duke of Montpenſier, or the baron de Biron, the conditions which, at their expence, he had granted to admiral Villars: and this was now all that perplexed him; for he conducted himſelf by quite different maxims from thoſe princes, who, in ſuch caſes, inſtead of ſubmitting to make uſe of prudent meaſures to pacify the murmurings they may expect, begin by ſilencing all complaint, and exact an unwilling obedience by the force of authority only. He ordered me to make him, in the preſence of theſe two noblemen, the ſame relation I had juſt now done, as if it were for the firſt time; and to give them to underſtand, that the concluſion of the treaty with Villars depended upon their ſacrificing to him their rights. This I performed exactly as we had concerted; after which the king, turning towards them, ſaid, with ſome emotion, that he would rather loſe Villars and Rouen both, than gain them by doing any injuſtice to two perſons whom he greatly eſteemed. Montpenſier and Biron were ſo affected with this manner of treating them, that they declared they would willingly reſign their pretenſions. Henry thanked them, and, as an equivalent gave the firſt the governments of Perche and Maine, to be joined to that of Normandy, as ſoon as it ſhould be entirely reduced; but then Villars' generoſity changed this diſpoſition: and to Biron a marechal's baton, with four hundred and twenty thouſand livres in money, to indemnify him from his loſs.

THE reduction of Paris engaged the king in new affairs, which obliged him to delay ſtill longer his journey to Rouen. He was employed in receiving the homage of all the different courts *, of the uni-

* The parliament of Paris was recalled from Tours, where it had been removed by letters patent from the king, dated the 28th of March, 1594.

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verſity, and other corporations of the city of Paris; whoſe early ſubmiſſion he thought he could not better reward, than by applying his cares to the reſtoring to them that harmony and regularity which the civil wars had interrupted. He had likewiſe anſwers to give to the ſeveral governors of towns and fortreſſes, particularly of the Iſle of France, who, after the example of the capital, came to make their ſubmiſſions to him.

VILLEROY was not amongſt the firſt: it was neceſſity alone, that either fixed his irreſolution, or forced his inclinations. Some places ‡ of little importance ſtill held out for him and his ſon, with which, by means of Du-Pleſſis his friend, and Sancy †, whoſe daughter was juſt married to his ſon, he made very advantageous conditions for himſelf: after obtaining, by repeated importunities, two truces, the one of two months ſpace, the other for three months; which he procured to be ratified by the duke of Maïenne; after having a long time affected a neutrality, and ſet a thouſand ſprings in motion to protract, till the laſt extremity, his ſeparation from his old friends, he at laſt concluded a treaty *

‡ Pontoiſe, &c.

† Jaqueline de Harlay-Sancy.

* This circumſtance in our Memoirs is poſitively contradicted by de Thou, who ſays, book cviii. that Villeroy's treaty with the king was concluded long before, but that his majeſty would not ſuffer it to be made public, becauſe he was deſirous that Villeroy ſhould make uſe of his influence over the duke of Maïenne, to prevail upon him to join his party. Matthieu, in the places already quoted, is of the ſame opinion; and Cayet, who likewiſe ſupports it elſewhere, does not contradict it by Villeroy's letter to the duke of Maïenne, dated the 2d of January in the ſame year; although, in relating the purport of this letter, he caſts a kind of reproach upon this miniſter. In this letter, which was intercepted by the royaliſts, Villeroy, whoſe deſign was to inform the duke of Maïenne beforehand of his treaty with Henry, which was going to be publiſhed, and to endeavour once more to prevail upon him to follow his example, adviſes Maïenne to conſider in earneſt of a peace for the party in general, and himſelf in particular, "Becauſe," ſays he, "their cauſe is deſperate;" and adds, "We have loſt all confidence in each other," &c. Cayet, b. vi. p. 293.

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almoſt after all the reſt, and obtained the poſt of ſecretary to the king, in recompence for that he had given up.

THE day after the king's entry into Paris, he thought proper to make me ſet out for Rouen, ſince he could not go thither himſelf. I arrived at that city on the 25th of March, bringing with me Vitry, at the head of three hundred men. La Font received me at the gate of the city, and conducted me, with all my train, to the houſe that was prepared for my reception, which belonged to the ſieur de Martinbault, the fineſt in the whole town, and, by Villar's orders, furniſhed magnificently for me. Simon Antoine and la Chapelle did not approve of ſuch a remarkable diſtinction. They were yet ignorant of the treaty, but had taken ſo much umbrage at my firſt journey, that they made uſe of all their credit with the governor to pravail upon him to forbid my entrance into the city.

LA FONT, who acquainted me with all their in-

With the key that de Thou and other hiſtorians have given us to Villeroy's ſecret tranſactions with the chiefs of the league, and to the part he played by the king's order, the meaning of thoſe words which they would impute to him as a crime, is eaſily comprehended; and it is even plain, that in ſpeaking to the duke of Maïenne he could not have expreſs'd himſelf otherwiſe. Indeed, if on this occaſion Villeroy could be charged with any fault, it was, in not diſcovering a little more generoſity when he had ſo good an opportunity for it; for beſides thoſe rewards mentioned in our Memoirs, he procured the government of Lyons for Charles de Neufville, marquis of Alincourt, his ſon. But what French nobleman in thoſe times, or even what man, however little diſtreſſed in his circumſtances, could boaſt of being exempted from this reproach? Father l'Etoile does not conceal the covetous and ſelfiſh diſpoſition of Villeroy. "Henry IV." ſays he in his Journal, "going one day, with twelve or fifteen of his courtiers, to partake of a ſlight collation with Villeroy, ſaid to them, when they were ſeated at table, My friends, we are at an ordinary, let us fare well for our money, for we have an hoſt that will make us pay dear for our entertainment." I do not think it will be neceſſary for the future to obviate all thoſe invectives which the duke of Sully, in the ſequel of theſe Memoirs, throws upon a man who has been highly ſerviceable to this kingdom, till his death in the year 1617, having poſſeſſed the poſts of miniſter and ſecretary of ſtate under four ſucceſſive kings, Charles IX. Henry III. Henry IV. and Lewis XIII.

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trigues, apprized me also, that they were that very night appointed to sup with the governor; as were likewise the abbé Tiron, the president Boquemare, Médavy, and d'Hacqueville, two counsellors of the parliament, and some others. I was resolved to take this opportunity to declare myself; and la Font having assured me, that the admiral would not be displeased with any thing I did, I was willing to enjoy the confusion of the two deputies from Spain and the league, by telling them what had just happened at Paris.

I WENT immediately to St. Ouen, where Villars was with all his guests; he was talking to the deputies at one end of the gallery when I entered; I did not scruple to interrupt their conversation, by running to embrace him, and told him I was come to invite myself to sup with him, having some news to acquaint him with. Villars, after returning my embrace, pointing to the two deputies, as if he knew my intended scheme and acted in concert with me, told me coolly, that having so many people to sup with him that night, he was afraid I would not find the party well assorted. I replied, that I could accommodate myself to any set of company, and I was persuaded (the animosity of party aside) those two gentlemen would receive the news I had to tell them with pleasure. The governor glancing a look at Simon Antoine, that deputy replied with an easy air, that he would be very glad to know how the king had treated the Spaniards and the two cardinals: adding encomiums on this prince, and compliments to me, with great art and politeness. "By what "I observe, you will oblige me to treat you all," said Villars; adding an apology for the meanness of his entertainment.

THE rest of the company approaching, the president Boquemare pressed me to declare my news; but I would say nothing till we were seated. "I "am," said the admiral (placing himself first at the middle

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middle of the table) "a very bad master of the ce-"remonies" I was resolved not to use any with don Simon, who I knew did not want ambition, which was likewise supported by his rank; lest therefore he should accept, on a bare compliment, of the chief place, which, on an occasion, when I represented the king's person, might have had some consequence, I seated myself, without any ceremony, at the head of the table, telling the Spanish deputy, that if our own persons only were concerned, I would willingly pay him what I thought due to a stranger of his merit: to which he answered with great politeness. La Chapelle observing to him, that the place I had at table was a type of that the king possessed now at Paris, and that things only followed their natural course, "I perceive it," said the Spaniard, "and I am afraid this precedence is "but a bad augury for us; however, it shall not "hinder us from being merry, and drinking to the "health of our masters, who are not enemies, since "there is no war declared between them." This answer was equally wise and politic; and during the whole repast, the Spaniard supported his part of the conversation with great spirit and understanding, seemed charmed with the king's fine qualities, and praised him particularly for the clemency with which he acted towards his enemies, whether foreigners or French. I took notice that Tiron, and a priest named Dadré †, were silent while this subject was discussed.

THE whole company either were, or seemed to be, highly pleased with the entertainment of the evening. When we broke up, Villars, as he attended me out, intreated me not to visit him next day, which he would employ in getting rid, some way or other, of his deputies. He knew not yet how these two men intended to take their leave of him, but told

† John Dadré, penitentiary of the church of Rouen.

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me, that if I wanted to be informed of it, I need only ſpend the afternoon with madam de Simiers: there I learned, that Villars had been cloſeted three whole hours with the two agents; that they had made uſe of reproaches, and very harſh language to him. But this governor was not a man eaſily to be intimidated or induced to alter his reſolution; he told them plainly, that he had concluded a treaty with the king, therefore it was neceſſary they ſhould retire without delay, either to Soiſſons, or to the duke of Maïenne, whither he would grant them a ſafe-conduct, the only favour he had now in his power to beſtow. There was a neceſſity for coming to this extremity with them: and Villars took care to guard againſt the effect of their reſentment, by giving orders for the newly-arrived troops to enter Rouen; with which he took poſſeſſion of the palace, the fort, and the caſtle. This done, he ſent la Font to me, to tell me, that the next day, at my firſt requeſt, he would declare himſelf for the king, in the preſence of all the inhabitants of the city, whom he cauſed to be aſſembled for that purpoſe, with all the form and ceremony that might make this action more ſolemn.

I NEVER experienced a more perfect ſatisfaction than what aroſe from the reflection of having done the king and kingdom ſo conſiderable a ſervice; nor enjoyed a more tranquil ſleep than that which the ſucceeding night afforded me. The next morning early I haſtened to Villars, at St. Ouen, whom I found walking in the great ſquare, whither he had come an hour before, and which, as well as all the principal ſtreets, was filled with ſuch a prodigious concourſe of people, drawn thither by the report of the deputies departure, and the new ceremony, that Perdriel, d'Iſencourt, la Font, and the ſoldiers, whom the governor had ſent to attend me, could with difficulty open me a paſſage: the joy was general, and diffuſed itſelf on every face.

I WENT

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I WENT up to the admiral, with whom I found the baron de Médavy and the preſident Boquemare: after the accuſtomed ſalutations were over, I told him, that the king being now a good catholic, it was time he ſhould give him ſome teſtimony of his duty and zeal. Villars replied, that in his heart he was already faithfully devoted to his majeſty's ſervice; and that if, to make an open profeſſion of it, nothing more was neceſſary than to put on the white ſcarf, he was ready to receive it at my hand. I took one out of my pocket; and Villars had no ſooner put it on, than, without farther thought, "Come on," cried he, with a tranſport which marked his character, the league is, to cry *Long live the king*. The profound ſilence that had been held during our conference, was now interrupted at this word by an univerſal acclamation of, *Long live the king*: at the ſame inſtant, the ringing of the great bell, with all the others in the city; the diſcharge of all the artillery from the fort and other places; added to this general ſhout a noiſe capable of inſpiring terror, if the joy which dilated every heart had permitted them to perceive, that there was not a houſe in the city that was not ſhook by it. "The ſound of theſe bells," ſaid I to the governor, "ſuggeſts to us to go and give "thanks to God in the church of Nôtre Dame." Accordingly, *Te Deum* was ſung there with great ſolemnity, and followed by the celebration of the maſs, at the beginning of which I retired. As ſoon as it was over, Villars took me up in his coach, and carried me to a magnificent entertainment, to which the ſovereign courts, all the officers of the army and magiſtrates of the city were invited. Orders were ſent to Verneuil, Pontaudemer, Havre, where the chevalier d'Oiſe * commanded, and to all thoſe places that acknowledged the admiral's authority, to follow the example of the capital.

* George de Brancas Villars, chevalier d'Oiſe, the admiral's brother.

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It was my first care, as soon as I was at leisure, to inform the king of what had just happened, and to intreat him to send to some of his counsellors to re-establish the parliament. The next day the citizens came in a body to thank me for my services, and to bring me their present, which consisted of a sideboard of plate, gilt and finely wrought, of upwards of three thousand crowns value; which I was obliged to accept, notwithstanding all my endeavours to the contrary. It was not long before my courier returned with dispatches from his majesty: he brought a letter for admiral Villars, in which the king stiled him his cousin, admiral, governor in chief of Rouen, Havre, &c. and invited him to come to court in terms which promised him a most gracious reception: that which was for me contained an order to return as soon as possible.

The admiral, who would not appear there till he had an equipage suitable to his rank and dignities, took time to prepare himself; as for me, I set out before, and lay the first night at Louviers, where I had the following adventure with Bois-rosé, whom I did not know.

This gentleman having learned by public report that the king had given Villars the fort of Fescamp, and heard no mention made of any recompence that was to be bestowed upon him, resolved to complain of this hardship to the king; and having occasion for the protection and countenance of some governor who was known to his majesty, came to Louviers a few moments after my arrival, to get a letter of recommendation from du Rollet. He alighted at the same inn which I had chosen, and was told that a gentleman was just come, who by his train, and the discourse of his domestics, appeared to be in great favour at court: my name they did not mention. Bois-rosé, believing me to be still at Rouen, could not know it but by inspiration, and did not hesitate a moment in preferring the protection of this lord to du

Rollet's

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Rollet's. He entered my chamber, and after making himself known, told me, that he had great reason to complain of a nobleman of the court, called the baron de Rosny, who, abusing his master's favour, had sacrificed him, as well as the duke de Montpensier, and marshal Biron, to admiral Villars his old friend. He afterwards explained his demands, but with so much emotion, so many oaths and menaces against this baron de Rosny, that I was never so well diverted in my life, as at the figure I made on this occasion.

When he had vented all his rage, I told him that I was well enough acquainted with the affair he mentioned to me, to assure him, that the baron de Rosny durst not have done any thing in it but by the king's express command; and that his majesty would not fail to repair his loss of Fescamp, by a recompence wherewith he would have reason to be contented. I did not think it necessary to carry my civility so far, as to promise him to serve his resentment against that baron of whom he complained so bitterly: on the contrary, I told him that if he knew the baron de Rosny, he would confess that a man who, for the good of the state, voluntarily resigned his abbey of Saint-Taurin, could only be influenced by necessity to do what he attributed to injustice. I took leave of him, saying, that I should be glad to see him when I arrived at court, where I promised to speak to the king concerning him, and to obtain the equivalent he demanded for the loss of Fescamp. Bois-rosé went away as much pleased with me as dissatisfied with the baron de Rosny; but having enquired my name of one of my pages, whom he met at the bottom of the stair-case, he was thunder-struck to hear the name of a man whom he had talked of in such harsh terms to himself; so that being apprehensive of the resentment he supposed I entertained against him, he mounted his horse again instantly, went to another inn, and set out with all possible ex-

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pedition for Paris, that he might get thither before me, and secure himself against the bad offices he expected from me, by some powerful protector.

THE adventure did not end here. While Bois-rosé took precautions against me as an irreconcileable enemy, I with more tranquility pursued my route by Mante, from whence I brought my wife to Paris. The first thing I did after my arrival, was to wait on the king, and give him an account of my journey. He, according to his usual custom, obliged me to inform him of the minutest particulars. After having exhausted every thing that was serious, I was willing to divert him with the scene at Louviers; for Bois-rosé had taken no notice of that, and had only conjured his majesty not to be prejudiced by what I might say against him, on account of an antient quarrel between us. The king laughed heartily at the adventure of Bois-rosé. I sent for him, and he finding I was the person to whom he was referred, believed his affairs desperate: I enjoyed his uneasiness and perplexity for some time, and afterwards drew him out of it in a manner that surprized him greatly. I solicited warmly in his favour, and obtained for him a pension of twelve thousand livres a year, a company with an appointment, and two thousand crowns in hand. He had not hoped for so much; but, his blustering apart, I looked upon him as an officer of great courage and resolution; and afterwards bound him more closely to me, and thought him worthy of the post of lieutenant-general of the ordnance, in Normandy, when the king had made me grand master of it.

I CONCEALED nothing from the king of all that had happened to me at Rouen, except the present of the side-board of gilt plate. He was astonished one morning to see it brought into his chamber. I told him, that, having in vain endeavoured to hinder the city of Rouen from making me this present, I came to bring it to his majesty, as a thing which belonged

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to him, since I had bound myself by a solemn vow, never on such occasions to accept of any gift from his subjects, while I continued in his service.

And here it seems not improper to declare my reasons for this conduct, which I am persuaded will not be thought a well-concerted stratagem to gain greater riches; for although the rewards I received from the king were very considerable, and even surpassed my expectations, it will be readily allowed that a man, who for so long a time had almost the sole management of the finances and the army, was able to enrich himself by a much shorter method. It is not necessary that I should name it; the past age has afforded but too many examples of it; and, notwithstanding all my endeavours to introduce a contrary custom, the future I doubt will supply many more.

Interest therefore being out of the question, my resolution to avoid receiving any obligations will be placed to the score of vanity. Against this imputation I can offer only a simple assurance, but a very sincere one; that I acted thus from no other motive, than the desire of teaching those who might succeed me in the conduct of affairs, that in this respect there is no difference between them and such as are set over the distribution of justice; for if a judge who appears willing to receive presents, even without any intention of being influenced by them, is looked upon with abhorrence, a minister, and any man invested with a public employment, renders himself equally guilty, who willingly receives gifts, which those who bestow have always in view the indemnifying themselves some time or other, either at the king's or the people's expence. If we cannot depend on the rectitude of intention of those who make us these presents, (it is to my successors I address myself now) much less can we on our own who receive them; and let us accustom ourselves to regard as two things which can never be reconciled, our master's profit, and our own, unless, as I have

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obſerved before, it ſhould be himſelf who beſtows gifts on us; and his liberality will always go ſo far as to leave us no cauſe to complain of him upon this account, after we have been able to convince him that our expectations are confined to him alone. But unfortunately, being accuſtomed to calculate and ſee immenſe ſums paſs through our hands, we are led inſenſibly to conſider as a ſmall matter thoſe that ſuffice to raiſe a fortune for one individual.

THE king did not ſcruple to own that he was not uſed to this ſort of reaſoning; and that if this ſyſtem, ſimple, as it was, could be once eſtabliſhed in the finances, it would be a ſure method of enriching both the king and the ſtate; a method that before and ſince has been ardently ſought for in vain. He would not have accepted the ſide-board, but to accommodate himſelf to my way of thinking, by obliging me to take it from his hand. This preſent became publicly known, becauſe he granted me a writing †, in which it was ſpecified, that this ſide-board was a preſent made by the city of Rouen to his majeſty, who had beſtowed it upon me; and the next day this prince ſent me three thouſand crowns, in his own ſtrong box, to make me ſenſible that ſuch an action in a miniſter ſhould not go unrewarded. I now fulfil his views, by informing the public of this double donation.

* Roſny's diſpoſition agreed perfectly well with the king's. When he truſted the finances to his care, he deſired him to receive no preſent whatever without his knowledge; and when Roſny informed him of any that were offered to him, the king immediately permitted him to accept of them, being ſo deſirous that he ſhould find his advantage in ſerving him faithfully, that he often added gifts of his own to thoſe perquiſites, to encourage him to perſevere in his integrity. But Roſny never received them till they were duly regiſtered in the chamber of accounts, that every one might know the bounty of his prince towards him; by which means he would avoid the reproach of abuſing his favour to empty his coffers. Peref. pag. 227. This writer, as well as the reſt of the world were, through the duke of Sully's modeſty, at that time ignorant that he himſelf was the contriver of this judicious ſcheme.

ADMIRAL

ADMIRAL Villars appeared ſoon after at court, with a train of more than an hundred gentlemen, ſome of whom were of the greateſt families in France; but people ſoon drew off their attention from the magnificence of his horſes, and the grandeur of his equipages, to fix it upon his generoſity and modeſty, in which indeed true riches conſiſt, although they are ſeldom poſſeſſed by the ſame perſon. He approached the king with an air perfectly noble, yet full of the deepeſt reſpect, and threw himſelf at his feet. "Admiral," ſaid the king, in pain at this poſture, and raiſing him haſtily, "ſuch ſubmiſſion "is duly only to God;" and reſolving to elevate as much as the admiral had humbled himſelf, he began to expatiate to the courtiers upon the great actions which Villars had performed, and did it with a diſcernment ſo juſt as gave them new merit. The admiral, by proteſtations of reſpect, and devotion to his ſervice, endeavoured to ſtop the courſe of thoſe praiſes; and afterwards perceiving the duke of Montpenſier, he went up to him, and, kiſſing his hand, acknowledged him his ſuperior, reſigning to him his government of Rouen with ſo good a grace, that this prince, who had at firſt received him coldly, being charmed with his generoſity, embraced him ſeveral times; and from that moment received him into the number of his moſt valued friends.

THE months of April and May were employed in the ſame manner by the king and his council, in receiving deputies from the different cities and governors, who came to treat upon conditions for ſurrendering. Thoſe of Lyons and Poitiers were the moſt conſiderable. A ſtrange fall for the duke of Nemours *! This ambitious man ſuffered the chimerical project of making himſelf king of France, by marrying the Infanta of Spain, to employ his mind; which the public hatred, and the oppoſition

† Charles Emanuel of Savoy, duke of Nemours, ſon of James, and Anne d'Eſt, widow of Francis of Lorrain, duke of Guiſe.

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of his own brother, the duke of Maïenne, obliging him to renounce, he soon consoled himself for this disappointment, by erecting, in idea, a principality composed of the provinces of Lyonnois, Beaujolois, Forêt, Maconnois, and Dombes, which he was to hold of Spain. He began by endeavouring to make sure of the capital of his new kingdom, but the Lyonnois†, more subtil than he, took care to secure the person of their pretended sovereign, who treated them already like a tyrant; and considering him in that light, kept him confined, without any intention however of breaking with the party. The league was offended at the affront offered to one of their leaders; and Saint-Sorlin ‡, the duke of Nemours's youngest brother, interesting Spain in his cause, obtained from the duke of Savoy, and the duke of Terra Nova, governor of Milan, a powerful supply of forces, with which he fell upon the Lyonnois. This violence determined them to separate openly from the league; and calling in colonel d'Ornano to their assistance, they declared openly for the king, pulled down and dragged the arms and colours of Spain, Savoy, and Nemours, in the dirt, burnt with insulting raillery, in the public square, the effigies of a woman, in the habit of a sorceress, with this inscription on her forehead, *The league*; and allowed only three months time to all the little towns dependent upon Lyons, to return to their duty.

THE duke of Nemours remained in great per-

† Perefixe supposes the duke of Maïenne himself to be the author of the revolt of Lyons, it being his design to snatch this city out of the hands of his half-brother. What the duke of Sully says here of the duke of Nemours, ought not to hinder us from doing him justice in other respects: he is allowed by all the historians, to have possessed very great and amiable qualities, both of mind and person, and to have been one of the most deserving noblemen in all France. See his panegyric, and that of the marquis de St. Sorlin, his brother, in the third vol. of the Memoirs of Brantome, under the article of monsieur de Nemours, p. 23. and following; and the account of the affairs of Lyons, in Cayet, book vi. fol. 299. and other historians.

‡ Henry de Savoy-Nemours, marquis of Saint-Sorlin.

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plexity during this tumult; and apprehending ſomething worſe than confinement from his pretended ſubjects, to effect his eſcape, put on the habit of his valet de chambre, whom he reſembled in his ſtature, and going out of his apartment with his cloſe-ſtool pan in his hand, paſſed through the ante-chamber where the guards were, without being known, becauſe he turned his face aſide, as if to avoid the bad ſmell; from thence he ſtole into the ſtreet, and gained the fields; too happy, after ſo much imaginary grandeur, to abandon, like a fugitive, a city which he had deſtined for the ſeat of his glory; and convinced by ſad experience of a truth to which we are always blind, that there is nothing ſo difficult as to make effects anſwer our deſires.

AMBITION made alſo another madman. Balagny ‡ ſeeing himſelf governor of Cambray, a place by its ſituation of great importance for the king, had the boldneſs to demand his title of governor to be changed into that of ſovereign prince, and the misfortune to obtain his requeſt. Hence he flattered himſelf that he ſhould ſee his name increaſe the catalogue of crowned heads, and forgot that he wanted means to maintain himſelf in that elevated rank. He maintained it, or thought to have done ſo, by exhauſting his purſe to appear with magnificence at court, and to ſend to the ſiege of Laon two thouſand arquebuſiers, and three hundred horſe. But the glory of this new potentate was of ſhort duration; he, as well as Nemours, ſplit upon the common rock ſo fatal to ambitious men, who can never be perſuaded to believe, that the beſt concerted ſchemes are thoſe which afford only moderate advantages, but thoſe advantages ſubject to no changes, and ſecured from all dangers.

THE Spaniards ſeeing that in the center of the kingdom every thing ſlipped through their hands, re-

‡ John de Montluc, baſtard of John de Montluc, biſhop of Valence.

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ſolved to ſtop the torrent by ſome important blow, and laid ſiege to La-Capelle. The king did not balance a moment upon the neceſſity of leaving all his domeſtic affairs, to go and prevent the reduction of this place. His ſoldiers however were not in the ſame diſpoſition; weary of war, they ſought only to loſe the remembrance of it in retirement and eaſe: ſo much time therefore was waſted before the king could draw his army together, that although he marched before with a ſmall body of troops, yet he came too late; he found the ſiege ſo far advanced, and the count of Mansfield, who commanded it, ſo advantageouſly poſted, that, weak as he was, he could not venture to force him. But the place being of great ſtrength, he flattered himſelf that the governor would hold out long enough to give time to the reſt of the troops to join him, and then he would be in a condition either to throw ſupplies into the place, or force the beſiegers to a battle. But this governor, following the maxim of thoſe times, attentive only to his own profit in every thing, had been ſo ſparing of proviſions, ammunition, and ſoldiers, to man his garriſon, that he was obliged to ſurrender much ſooner than with a contrary conduct he need to have done, and thus ſaw himſelf ruined by his avarice.

THE king, by way of repriſal, inveſted * Laon: he was not ignorant that the league had put this place, already ſo ſtrong by its ſituation and fortifications, into a condition ſufficient to make whoever attacked it, repent of his attempt. Du-Bourg † was governor of it; one of the beſt and moſt experienced officers the duke of Maïenne had in his army: the duke's ſecond ſon, the count of Sommerive ‡, with

* In Picardy.

† He choſe rather to go out of the Baſtile, of which he was governor, publicly with the black ſcarf, than to receive a bribe to put it into the king's hands. F. de l'Etoile. Cayet, vol. II. p. 691. He was called Antony du Maine, ſurnamed du Bourg, or l'Eſpinaſſe.

‡ Charles Emmanuel of Lorrain, count of Sommerive.

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a great number of the nobility, was shut up there. The king therefore, considering that, on this occasion, he had his military reputation to sustain, a reputation to which he owed all his success, neglected no care or attention, to accomplish his enterprize.

I ATTENDED him joyfully to this siege, and was charged, according to my taste, with the direction of a battery of six pieces of cannon, conjointly with the elder de Born *, who, in quality of lieutenant-general of the ordnance, had the conduct of it in the absence of the count de la Guiche † grand master, and consented to take me for his collegue Scarce had I taken possession of my new employment, when I was obliged to abandon it. The king was informed by letters from Paris, that the count d'Auvergne ‡, with d'Entragues, his father-in-law, had begun those secret practices against him which afterwards had like to have brought him to a scaffold; and that many disaffected and seditious persons daily resorted to Paris. A violent dispute had likewise just commenced, between the university and curates of Paris, on one side, and the jesuits on the other; which, in a government yet hardly established, might produce dangerous consequences.

THIS news convinced his majesty that there was a necessity for having a vigilant and faithful agent in that great city; yet he delayed mentioning the affair to me, because he knew well that I should not be pleased with an employment which would oblige

* John de Durefort, lord de Born.

† Philibert de la Guiche, governor of Lyons, was made grand master of the ordnance in the year 1578, in the room of the marechal de Biron.

‡ He will be mentioned in the sequel. Charles of Valois, duke of Angoulême, grand prior of France, son of Charles IX. and of Mary Touchet, lady of Belleville, daughter of the lieutenant particulier of Orleans. She died in the year 1638, aged 89 years, and the duke of Angoulême in 1639. He was son-in-law to Francis de Balzac, lord of Entragues, who by his marriage with Mary Touchet, had Henrietta de Balzac, marchioness of Verneuil, mistress of Henry IV. and half sister to the count of Auvergne.

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me to leave the siege. However, a letter which I received from the cardinal of Bourbon, and which I could not avoid shewing him, determined him to propose it to me. The cardinal, without giving a particular account of what had happened at Paris, only expressed himself ardently desirous of seeing me, upon affairs of great importance, which he said I only could succeed in. Although all this had only the air of a compliment, yet his majesty thought he ought not to neglect this advice: and had these affairs related only to the cardinal, the king had so many motives for being solicitous about him, that when he had read this letter, he commanded me to prepare for returning to Paris; which I obeyed, but with great regret at quitting the siege. There was a necessity to fill up the employment I left vacant with a man whose fidelity could be depended upon. I named to his majesty Vignoles, Parabere, and Trigny, and he chose * Parabere. I flattered myself that when the affairs which called me to Paris were terminated, I should return to Laon; and I was resolved to use all possible expedition with them; but they were succeeded by others, and that so soon, that from the end of May to the beginning of August, which was the time this siege lasted, all I could see of it was in those little excursions I sometimes made thither from Paris; therefore my account of it will be equally interrupted.

HAVING received the king's last instructions for my journey, I set out, and reached Crêpy the first night, where I lay, and the next day arrived at Paris. I waited upon the cardinal immediately, and found him † very ill, and as much weakened in mind as body: he embraced me tenderly, and discovered great joy at seeing me; then ordering his

* John de Beaudean de Parabere.

† The moment he perceived himself ill, he departed from Gaillon, and came to St. Genevieve, and afterwards to his fine house of the abbey of St. Germain, according to de Thou, book cix.

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chamber to be cleared, made me ſit down by his bedſide, that I might hear the many important things he had to ſay to me. Thoſe he began with, gave me no great opinion of the reſt; but they were ſuch as ſat neareſt his heart, although they conſiſted only of domeſtic uneaſineſſes, and female quarrels, which I am almoſt aſhamed to entertain the public with. A certain lady, named madam de Roſieres, was the cauſe of them. The cardinal, either through jealouſy, or a diſturbed imagination, had taken it into his head, that ſhe haſtened his death by magic, to be revenged on him for ſowing diſſenſion between her and the abbé de Bellozanne, her favourite: his only conſolation was, that if he did not die, his murdreſs would. My wife had informed him that this madam de Roſieres was dangerouſly ill; and probably it was upon this information that he had formed his whole dream of magic and death.

He imparted all theſe ſecrets to me with ſuch apparent dejection, that I did not doubt but the full poſſeſſion, which theſe extravagant notions had taken of his mind, contributed in a great meaſure to haſten his death. I endeavoured to bring him back to reaſon; and he at laſt was able to ſpeak to me of his other affairs, which he had like to have forgot. Next to madam de Roſieres, the king was the perſon of whom he complained with greateſt bitterneſs; for his mind was in ſuch a ſtate, that he inveighed moſt againſt thoſe whom he loved the beſt. He aſked the king's permiſſion to diſpoſe of his benefices; and his majeſty, he ſaid, had not received his requeſt very favourably, which, he added, could only be occaſioned by this prince's not having any regard for him, or that he was not ſincerely attached to the catholic religion; (for how indeed could he be a good catholic, and diſoblige a cardinal?) Afterwards, without conſidering whom it was he was ſpeaking to, he intreated me to defend the romiſh religion to the king, to confirm him in it, to prevail upon him to

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keep up a close correspondence with the pope, to demand the holy father's benediction, that he might afterwards obtain of him the dissolution of his marriage with queen Margaret of Valois, and be at liberty to marry another princess, by whom he might have children that would secure the crown to the house of Bourbon, and peace and tranquility to France. The end of this discourse was much more judicious than I had reason to expect: nor was the pope's panegyric improperly introduced in it; for it must be confessed that Clement the eighth was not only possessed of great wisdom and justice, but also so good a politician, that the court of Madrid could never boast of having deceived him by their artifices.

THE cardinal afterwards brought the affair of the jesuits upon the carpet; and although, as a man devoted to the court of Rome, he openly favoured them, yet the arguments he made use of to prevail upon me to support them, were founded upon policy and the interest of the king, and so judicious, that I was convinced his understanding was not impaired by sickness, but only on occasions where he was personally concerned. All the steps I took in that affair were in consequence of his eminence's prudent reflections on the danger of banishing the whole society from France in such a conjuncture; for, as we shall soon see, nothing less was in agitation.

A FOURTH affair, which he recommended to me, was to support, against the superintendant, the old archbishop of Glasgow in Ireland, whom he loved and honoured as if he had been a near relation. This archbishop bore the name of Bethune *. The queen

* James de Bethune, archbishop of Glascow, or Glasgow, in Scotland, and not in Ireland, came to Paris in quality of ambassador in ordinary from the queen of Scotland, and died there in the year 1603, aged eighty-six years; having, during fifty-seven years, suffered great vicissitudes of fortune, after the murder of cardinal de Bethune, archbishop of St. Andrews, his uncle, which happened in the year 1546. His epitaph may be still seen in the church of St. John of Latran. Amelot de la Houssaye, in his Memoirs, mentions the process that Nicolas

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of Scotland his benefactress being dead, all he now desired was to spend the short remnant of his life in peace, far from his native country: but in the superintendant he found an enemy, to whose persecutions he was perpetually exposed, and who seemed resolved to drive him, if possible, out of France. I never could discover the true cause of this hatred; perhaps it was owing to the attachment this prelate always shewed to the family of the Guises, from whom the queen * of Scotland his mistress was descended. The cardinal said, that it had no other foundation than the interest he took in whatever concerned the archbishop: and it is certain that, as often as his eminence solicited the superintendant in favour of the old prelate, he seemed to be more eagerly bent upon his destruction. The cardinal therefore intreated me to prevail upon the king to take the archbishop under his protection: he had promised to have no concern, for the future, in any affairs, either within or without the kingdom: indeed he was no longer capable of it, nor could his conduct be justly reproached with any fault. To gain me entirely over to his interests, the cardinal told me that this archbishop had so great an affection for me, that he wept continually for my unhappiness in being educated in the protestant religion.

He resumed again the subject of his benefices, with which he concluded his discourse; and earn-

Nicolas Denetz, bishop of Orleans, had with Maximilian Francis, duke of Sully, in which it appears that they unjustly disputed the right this family had to the name of Bethune. "However this may be," said he, speaking of this archbishop, "the family of Betun in Scotland, "from whence were descended the cardinal archbishop of St. Andrews, and the archbishop of Glasgow, ambassador from queen "Mary Stuart in France, where he died in 1660, or 1601, (here is "an error in the date) is acknowledged by messieurs de Sully, and de "Charost, for a branch of their house." Vol. II. p. 68. Therefore, according to our Memoirs, both the archbishop of Glasgow, and the archbishop of St. Andrews' true name was Bethune, and not Betun.

* Mary of Lorrain, daughter of Claude, duke of Guise, married in the year 1530 to James Stuart, king of Scotland.

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eſtly entreated me to obtain for him his majeſty's permiſſion to reſign them, confeſſing that the poſſeſſion of theſe benefices had given dreadful uneaſineſs to the deceaſed cardinal his uncle, from whom he had them, as well as to himſelf, ſome of them having been forcibly taken from families who were the lawful proprietors of them; and his eminence thought he ſhould make a ſufficient atonement both for himſelf and his uncle, and pacify his conſcience, by reſtoring them to the injured perſons after his death. He had finiſhed all he had to ſay to me, when his phyſician entered the chamber. Duret *, for it was he, having recommended ſilence to his patient, took upon himſelf the care of acquainting me with all the ſecrets of the family, whoſe confidence he poſſeſſed; and he acquitted himſelf of this taſk like a man who had a great opinion of his own eloquence, for he wearied me ſufficiently. I made no other anſwer to his tedious harangue, than reiterated promiſes of ſerving his eminence.

DURING the three days which I paſſed at Paris, I was ſufficiently convinced of the dangerous correſpondences carried on by the count d'Auvergne, d'Entragues, and his wife. Their houſe was the rendezvous for all the king's enemies, either in the league or the Spaniſh party: every night they held ſecret councils againſt the king's intereſt and ſervice. Till I ſhould have an opportunity of conferring with his majeſty upon the meaſures neceſſary to be taken to ſuppreſs this wicked cabal, I repreſented to meſſieurs de Chiverny †, de Pontcarré, de Bellievre, and Maiſſe, that they could not watch too narrowly the motions of theſe diſaffected perſons; and I particularly recommended it to Maiſſe, whoſe diligence I was well acquainted with.

* Lewis Duret, lord of Chevry.

† Philip Hurault de Chiverny, or Cheverny, lord chancellor of France.----Camus de Pontcarré, maſter of the requeſts. Pomponne de Bellievre. Andrew Hurault ſieur de Maiſſe; in the following year he was made ambaſſador to Venice.

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I AFTERWARDS applied myself with a particular attention to the affair of the jesuits, against whom a process was actually commenced before the parliament, and vigorously pursued by the university and curates of Paris, who accused them with having monopolized to themselves the education of the youth, and the direction of consciences; represented them as a society very pernicious to the state; and proposed their being banished as such from all the dominions of France. It was far from being certain, that all these enemies of the society would triumph over them, even if the king should not interpose his authority. The jesuits, on this occasion, exerted all their power. The party was already so well supported, that, without laying any stress upon the pope, Spain, and their partisans in the league ‡, who were not few, one half of the parliament was on their side, and openly solicited in their favour. The cause was at last put into the hands of counsel in the highest fame at the bar: the jesuits retained Duret, and Versoris ‖; and their adversaries Arnaud and Dollé. In Paris nothing was talked of but these two powerful factions.

‡ The cardinal of Bourbon, the superintendant d'O, Antony Seguire, king's advocate, and a great many others, publicly solicited for the jesuits.

‖ The cause was tried privately, on the 18th of April, 1594. Antony Arnaud pleaded for the university, and Claud Duret, in few words, for the jesuits. Peter Barne, a jesuit, syndic of the college of Clermont, at present the college of Lewis le Grand, defended them more fully by a *factum*, in which were many solid arguments. He there justifies the obedience his society pays to the pope; denies that in any part of their statutes they are permitted to dethrone kings, or to murder tyrants; which, in reality, was a calumny invented by their enemies: he proves, on the contrary, that they were forbid by the court of Rome to concern themselves with any public affairs, &c. A process had been commenced against the jesuits in the parliament by the same parties, thirty years before, concerning their establishment in the kingdom; which was still depending: the parliament, instead of a peremptory decree, made one, by which the petitions of the university and clergy of Paris were added to the instruments of this former process, to be decided together; this they might easily have prevented, and yet they did not. De Thou, b. cx. History of the university of Paris, vol. VI. p. 866, and others.

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I REFLECTED upon what the cardinal de Bourbon had repreſented to me, That there was no extremity to which this order would not proceed, ſtimulated either by revenge, or by the hope of forcing us to repeal their baniſhment: That by their intrigues they might animate part of Europe againſt us, make their perſecution be looked upon as an injury offered to religion itſelf, and bring the king under a ſuſpicion of being ſecretly attached to that which he had juſt quitted; which, in the preſent ſtate of affairs, might have very dangerous conſequences, Clement VIII. not having yet been able to reſolve upon granting the abſolution ſolicited for at Rome; the king being engaged in one of thoſe enterpriſes, the event of which is always ſo uncertain, and often ſo dangerous; and, in a word, the catholics who had moſt power in the kingdom, as well thoſe who were at Paris, as thoſe that filled the court, fearing, or ſeeming to fear, for their own intereſt, that they had not yet ſufficiently provided for the ſecurity of the romiſh religion in France. I was ſenſible that meſſieurs de * Longueville, Nevers, and Biron, had publicly expreſſed themſelves to this purpoſe, and had uſed all their endeavours to communicate their apprehenſions to the cardinal of Bourbon, by means of d'Entragues, d'Humiers, des Sourdis, and others. It is not my deſign to impute here any bad intentions to theſe perſons; but it is certain, that amongſt theſe zealous catholics there were few who were not actuated by a motive like that of Biron, who did not propagate theſe ſort of diſcourſes till he had loſt all hope of obtaining the government of Laon.

BE that as it will, prudence, I thought, required that the authority of the abſent king ſhould not be expoſed for a quarrel between prieſts and theologiſts: and did not doubt but his majeſty, in ſuch a caſe, would chuſe the moſt moderate ſide. I therefore de-

* Henry d'Orleans, duke of Longueville.

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clared to the council, that the king did not think the accusations, which were brought against the jesuits, of sufficient importance to authorise any harsh treatment of them; and that his majesty would be determined by their future behaviour to the state and himself, whether he should banish them, or permit them to continue in France: and that till he had given more positive orders concerning them, he absolutely forbad any violent proceedings against those fathers; that no invectives * should be permitted

* Antony Arnaud pleaded with such vehemence against them, that, according to l'Etoile, who had no kindness for the jesuits, he was blamed for it even by persons who hated these fathers; and that the first president obliged him to be silent. By the epithets which M. de Thou gives to the advocates for the university and clergy, it is plain, that he, like all the other unprejudiced persons, thought they discovered too much heat in their proceedings against the jesuits; although on this occasion, as well as all others, this historian declares himself absolutely against the society. In the Memoirs of the league I find that the enemies of the jesuits raised another complaint against them, but so improbable, that they were forced to drop it; and this was, that they carried children away from their parents, to transport them out of the kingdom.

As to the article relating to the instruction of youth, no one, I believe, will appeal from the decision of a man, whose reflections upon every part of the government are known to be superior to all others. Cardinal Richlieu, in his Political Testament, part i. chap ii. § 10. after weighing, as was usual with him, the arguments for and against the university and the jesuits, decides the question in these terms: "Neither reason nor justice allow, that we should deprive an antient professor of that he has a right to hold: and the general interest cannot suffer a society, not only respectable for their piety, but celebrated for their doctrine, as the jesuits are, to be prevented from the exercise of a function which they perform with great utility for the public . . . It is reasonable, therefore, that the university and the jesuits should both be allowed to teach, that each, through an emulous desire of excelling the other, may be animated to a full exertion of their powers; and that the sciences may be secured to the state, by being resigned to the care of their guardians; so that if one party should happen to lose so sacred a charge, it may be found with the other."

With regard to the direction of consciences, this great minister gave into the general opinion, that by that, and the instruction of children of quality, the jesuits became masters of the secrets of the hearts, and the affairs of all families; but still thinking it would be unjust, to interdict the society from this office of the sacred ministry, any more than other priests, whether secular or regular; he contented himself

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in the pleadings againſt them; and even that their cauſe ſhould be tried in full court. No perſon expected to find in me a protector of the jeſuits; and I may ſay, without vanity, that my recommendation of them at that time would not have been uſeleſs, although I had not ſtrengthened it with the king's authority. In effect, no farther progreſs was made in this affair.

THE reſpect I owed to the cardinal of Bourbon made me reſolve to ſpeak to the ſuperintendant in favour of the archbiſhop of Glaſgow: though I knew well what I had to expect from a man ſo little ſolicitous to conceal the hatred he bore to my whole family, and which a late quarrel with my youngeſt brother had augmented. I hoped to find more juſtice from the king, and I haſtened to join him at Laon, after taking leave of the cardinal, who continued ſtill extremely ill.

AT Bruyeres, where I had left my field equipage, I learned that the duke of Maïenne, being in conſtant expectation of a great army, which count Charles of Mansfield was to bring him, had advanced with ſome troops as far as La-Fere, and twice attempted to throw a ſupply of one hundred horſe and two hundred arquebuſiers into Laon; that the firſt

himſelf with making this one of the arguments for not leaving to the jeſuits alone the inſtruction of the youth of the kingdom. The Chronologie Septenaire, a work of which the French Mercury is the ſequel, appears to have done more towards the clearing up this affair, than all the other memorials of thoſe times, by the candour and impartiality with which it is written, as well as the comprehenſive manner, of treating it. The Septenaire, I ſay, ſpeaking of the great uſe the jeſuits have been to this kingdom in particular, by their erudition, and their zeal againſt innovators; by the purity of their theological tenets; and by their miſſions; from hence it draws up a panegyric, for which we muſt refer to the book itſelf, fol. 349, and which is ſo much the more remarkable, that it was done at the time when jealouſy gave riſe to the blackeſt accuſations againſt the jeſuits. The author of this piece of hiſtory, although his name is not prefixed, is the ſame father Victor Cayet who compoſed the Chronologie Novennaire, where there is an exact relation of this proceſs againſt the jeſuits, Anx. 1594. B. vi. p. 379, 407.

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was defeated by Givry, and the second by the count of Soissons, whose turn it was that day to guard the trench: that the king gave always a glorious example to the princes and officers, and mounted guard in the trenches in his turn.

His majesty was in bed when I arrived at his quarters, although it was three o'clock in the afternoon: he asked me if I was not surprized to find him in bed at such an hour: this bed, however, was only two mattresses upon the bare ground. All night, and the preceding day, this prince had been standing at the trench, where he was employed in directing works to be made in the mountain, upon the declivity of which Laon is situated, either to change the place of some batteries, or to shelter the workmen by parapets. He was so greatly fatigued standing upon the ground, which was extremely rugged, that several contusions rose in his feet, which did not, however, hinder him from staying to see the work carried on till all these contusions bursting, each of his feet became one continued wound, which obliged him to be put to bed, and some dressings to be applied to them; these he ordered to be changed in my presence, "That you may be convinced," said he, "I do not act the sick man unseasonably." I was very far, indeed, from entertaining such a thought, and if I accused him of any thing, it was of the contrary excess. I believe he perceived it; for seeking, as it were, to justify himself, he told me, that he was under a necessity of undertaking and superintending this work, which would give him two days advance upon the besieged city; and that I would not condemn him after I had seen it, or, at least, heard an account of it from the connoisseurs whom he had sent to visit it, and whose return he expected at five o'clock.

I took advantage of this opportunity of being alone with the king to give him an account of my journey, which I did, kneeling on a cushion which he

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he made me bring to the bedside. His majesty, desirous of authorizing what I had done, ordered Beaulieu-Rusé to write three letters instantly; the first, which was addressed to the chancellor, regarded the jesuits, and contained only a repetition of what I had said. In the second, he informed d'O, that it was his intention the archbishop of Glasgow should enjoy the only two abbeys * he had in France peaceably, and justified this prelate's past conduct by the gratitude he owed his benefactress. The third, to the cardinal of Bourbon, was written in the name of Loménie, secretary of state, who made known to his eminence, that the king would approve of the disposition he should make of his benefices, and was ready to ratify it, by signing himself the form he should send him, provided he found in it nothing contrary to the canons, the liberties, and the customs of the kingdom. He concluded this letter with an assurance of his protection and friendship; and as a proof of his confidence, sent the two others under cover to him, that he might transmit them himself to the persons they were directed to; and had the complaisance to acquaint him with the contents. I desired Du-Peirat, whom the king sent with these three letters to Paris, to deliver one from me to the cardinal, in which I exhorted him, by every thing that I thought could make any impression upon his mind, to free himself from all his domestic uneasinesses.

THESE affairs were but just over before the arrival of messieurs de Biron, Givry, Saint-Luc, Marivault, Parabere, Vignoles, Fouqueroles, and others whom the king had sent to examine his works of the preceding day, particularly two mines which he had caused to be opened. Every one gave his opinion of them, to shew his own skill: they could not agree, and a dispute insensibly arose amongst them: marechal Biron, vain of his great talents for war, by an

* Nôtre-Dame de l'Abbé in Poitou, and the priory of St. Peter of Pontoise.

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assuming air, and a superiority of accent which made him always master of the conversation, could with difficulty bear to hear any one declare himself of an opinion contrary to his.

The king, perceiving that words grew high amongst them, in order to oblige them to silence, told them he had received notice from three spies, who came one after the other from different places, that the duke of Maïenne and the count of Mansfield had resolved, at all hazards, to throw a very considerable convoy of ammunition and provisions into Laon, in order to avoid a battle; and that this convoy was to set out instantly upon its march, supported by a very powerful escorte, with a design to surprize the guard, force themselves a passage, and enter into the besieged city. This afforded a new subject for contestation, which ended at last in Biron's favour, who procured the command of a strong detachment, with which he intended to post himself in the forest between Laon and La-Fere, and to attack both the escorte and the convoy. He composed the detachment himself, which consisted of twelve hundred French infantry, all chosen men, eight hundred Swiss, three hundred light horse, two hundred troopers, and one hundred gentlemen of the king's household. I asked the king's permission to go along with this detachment, which he refused me several times, alledging, that there were many things which he wanted me to inform him of; but, upon my repeated importunities, he allowed me to go.

We began our march at six o'clock in the afternoon, and reached the forest at one in the morning, where we advanced cautiously to the extremity of the wood near La-Fere; here we lay in ambuscade. Marechal Biron detained all the passengers we met on the great road, who he thought might carry intelligence of his design into La-Fere; and placed centinels on horseback at the end of the wood, to bring him an exact information of whatever came

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out of the city. We waited with great impatience till four o'clock in the afternoon, before we heard any news; and then the centinels came to inform us, that the great road from La-Fere to Laon was covered with ſo long a file of ſoldiers, and ſuch a vaſt quantity of baggage of every kind, that they could imagine nothing elſe but that the whole army of the enemy was advancing. That inſtant I perceived ſeveral of the moſt reſolute amongſt us look pale, and whiſper to each other that it was neceſſary to make our retreat. This, many of us oppoſed; and the commander declaring himſelf for this laſt opinion, it was agreed upon by a plurality of voices, that ſome one of the troop ſhould be ſent to reconnoitre, and bring back an exact account of what he ſaw. Fouqueroles, whoſe valour and prudence was well known, was choſen, with two others, for this employment; and returning a little time afterwards, informed us, that this ſeemingly formidable line was compoſed of three hundred carts, laden with ammunition, eſcorted by four ſquadrons of one hundred horſe each, who marched before the convoy, followed by eight or nine hundred muſqueteers, an equal number of Spaniſh infantry brought up the rear.

THIS number not being equal to ours, it was agreed upon, with one voice, that we ſhould attack them; and we only differed upon the manner of doing it: I, with many others, were of opinion, that it would be better to let the convoy enter the foreſt, and aftewards fall upon them in the rear. Givry *, Montigny, and Marivault, who were at the head of the cavalry, were for the negative, and maintained ſo poſitively, that there was leſs danger in attacking them in the open field, that they drew marechal Biron into this opinion. At firſt this method ſucceeded; the cavalry of the enemy gave way as ſoon

* Anne d'Anglure, baron of Givry. He was killed at Laon a few days after this encounter, and greatly lamented by Henry IV. Francis de la Grange, lord de Montigny: he is mentioned again. Claude de de Marivault.

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as they were attacked, though at the beginning they ſhewed great reſolution, and retired to the ſides of the waggons: but we ſoon found whom we had to deal with; the enemy's infantry which were in front waited firmly for our troopers, whom Biron ſent to attack them, and fired upon them with ſuch excellent order, as obliged them to give ground. Biron commanded them to return to the charge by the left flank, while he attacked the right, which was evidently the leaſt dangerous. The onſet was ſo terrible, that the enemy's foot was forced to retire, and, like the other ſquadrons, take ſhelter in the midſt of the carts, from whence they ſtill continued to defend themſelves: in the mean time the Spaniſh battalion advanced from the rear to the front, and formed itſelf in ſuch a manner, that it was ſupported on all ſides by the cavalry and the waggons, without loſing the aſſiſtance of the firſt battalion: they made ſo vigorous a defence, that all Biron's intreaties and menaces could not hinder our ſix hundred horſe from quitting the fight, extremely weakened. The Swiſs and French infantry, who took their place, found equal reſiſtance. The battle laſted a long time. Biron apprehending, that an action which paſſed ſo near La-Fere would give time for a conſiderable ſupply to be ſent to the convoy, if it was not very ſpeedily ended, for a laſt reſource, commanded the hundred gentlemen to diſmount, to add to their other arms, which conſiſted of a ſword and piſtol, a pike, of which he had brought a great quantity along with us; and to bring up to the charge all our foot, both French and Swiſs, which had not yet encountered the Spaniards. Meſſieurs de Guitry *, de Montig-

* This is not John de Chaumont de Guitry, who has been ſo often mentioned in the Hiſtory and in theſe Memoirs; he died in the year 1592. See his panegyric in M. de Thou, book ciii. The perſon mentioned here was, according to Cayet, called ſo, becauſe he married the heireſs of this family. Chron. Novenn. b. iv. p. 23. But Cayet is miſtaken; John de Chaumont left ſeveral ſons, who bore arms in the king's ſervice.

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ny, de Marivault, de Trigny, d'Arambure, de la Curée, de Lopes, d'Heures, and others, advanced in this manner at the head of three hundred foot; and Biron, with an equal number, followed them. I was in the second battalion. They charged us with such fury, that the pike and fusee became useless; we fought hand to hand, and even wrestled with each other. The Spaniards at length gave ground, and, after throwing away their arms †, fled for shelter to the woods and waggons. This last refuge was of no service to them; we pursued them there, and made a horrible carnage of them: no less than twelve hundred were left dead upon the place. We took but few prisoners. Those persons that were of any distinction in the cavalry, had time to get back to La-Fere. We neither pursued them, nor the others who had taken shelter in the woods, lest we should be surprised and put into disorder by new troops sent from La-Fere to their assistance: on the contrary, we only thought of rallying, and keeping upon our guard, during the time that was necessary to rest and refresh ourselves with some of those provisions of which we found great abundance in the convoy. In the night we marched back to the camp, and brought thither, without meeting with any obstacle, all the enemy's baggage, but so pillaged by the soldiers, and so carelessly looked after, notwithstanding the commander's strict orders concerning it, that above four hundred war or baggage horses were lamed.

Biron, with the same supercilious air which he had assumed to procure the command in this expedition, presented himself to his majesty at his return, to receive the praises due to his success. Having a subject so copious to discuss, one may easily imagine what a man, who knew not that on such occasions

† La Curée, who was a good judge in these matters, attributes the Spaniards defeat to their custom of using too long swords, and waist-belts too short. Vol. 8929. MSS. de la Bibliot. du Roi.

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silence is merit, would say to enhance the greatness of his victory. Indeed his discourse seemed to insinuate that he had that moment fixed the crown upon the king's head. Experience has shewn that this haughtiness which borders a little upon boasting, of itself sufficiently in the French taste, commonly succeeds with a general who has Frenchmen to lead: with them to seem sure of a victory, goes a great way towards gaining it. The king was not ignorant of this disposition; and he had found very happy consequences from it, on those hazardous occasions, when the soldiers fought only in the countenance and words of their leader, the idea they ought to have of the present danger. Hence a seeming confidence of success became habitual to him, which was imitated by all the general officers; and, as it often happens, many of them, but particularly marechal Biron, carried that confidence so far as to become insupportable to all the others, and even to the king himself, who was not on this occasion the less indulgent.

The obliging reception which his majesty gave to Biron, and those that had followed him, created great jealousy in the courtiers who were not of the party, and completely turned Biron's head. However, he could not obtain the government of Laon, which was what he aimed at by exalting his last action, and arrogating all the glory of it to himself alone, as if the others had had no part in it. The king discovered his thoughts of it freely to me, and seemed on many accounts greatly discontented with this marechal. His majesty told me, that after so many causes of complaint which Biron had given him, after his having dared even lately to threaten him with going over to his enemies, and the discoveries he had just made of the correspondence he carried on with messieurs d'Epernon, and d'Auvergne, he could not resolve to trust him with the care of a place so near the Low Countries as Laon,

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which ought only to be given to a man * whoſe fidelity had been tried; but he feared, he ſaid, that Biron would keep no meaſures after this refuſal, and would openly join the party againſt him, or, what was ſtill more dangerous, continue near his perſon, while he ſecretly ſided with his enemies. Henry, who from this moment was perſuaded that he would one day have all this to fear from Biron, added, that he perceived this marechal had ſought my friendſhip for ſome time, doubtleſs with an intention to procure my concurrence to a marriage between his brother, and mademoiſelle de Saint-Geniés †, my niece, who was one of the greateſt fortunes in France; and he ordered me to take advantage of this new friendſhip, to penetrate into his deſigns.

The great convoy being defeated, the king, without any obſtacle, continued the ſiege of Laon, till he received notice that the duke of Maïenne, and the count of Mansfield, far from being diſheartened by this bad ſucceſs, talked of nothing leſs than coming to force the lines of the beſiegers, as ſoon as they had received ſome troops they were in expectation of. Biron treated this news with contempt; but his majeſty, who neglected nothing, was not eaſy about it, till Givry, whom he had ſent to reconnoitre, eſcorted by three hundred horſe, with ſtrict orders not to return without a perfect knowledge of the ſituation and forces of the enemy, brought him, at the end of three days, certain intelligence that there was not a ſingle company of them on this ſide of the Oiſe; and that the Spaniards were more inclined to return to Flanders than to Laon. The king, relying upon the juſtneſs of this report, that very evening made a party to go and dine the next day at St. Lambert, a houſe dependent upon the domain of Navarre,

* This government was given to Marivault.

† Daughter of Elias de Gontault, lord de Badefou, and Sain-Geniés, governor of Bearn, viceroy of Navarre, and of Jacqueline de Bethune, monſieur de Roſny's ſiſter.

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and ſituated in the midſt of the foreſt, where he remembered to have often gone to eat fruit, milk, and new cheeſe, during the time that in his youth he had ſtaid in the caſtle of Marle; and he ſtill promiſed himſelf great pleaſure in ſeeing it again.

About thirty of us attended him to St. Lambert, where, as he had paſſed part of the preceding night in viſiting as uſual the trenches, batteries, and mines, he fell aſleep as ſoon as he dined: his good conſtitution, joined to a habit of fatigue, had accuſtomed him to ſleep in any place, and when he pleaſed, and to awake at any hour. The weather being then extremely hot, eight or ten of us went into the thickeſt part of the foreſt †, not far from the great road leading from La-Fere to Laon. We had not gone farther than twelve or fifteen hundred paces, when a noiſe that came from that ſide near La-Fere drew all our attention; it ſeemed to be a confuſed mixture of human voices, ſmacking of whips, neighing of horſes, and a noiſe like the diſtant ſound of trumpets and drums. That we might hear more plainly, we came forwards to the road, from whence we ſaw diſtinctly, eight hundred paces before us, a column of infantry, which appeared to us to be foreigners, marching in good order, and without any noiſe: that which we had heard proceeded from the ſervants and vagabonds who followed, and thoſe that conducted a conſiderable convoy of artillery which guarded it. Extending our view as far as it was poſſible, ſo great a number of troops appeared to us to defile after theſe waggons, that we did not doubt but the enemy's whole army was there.

We returned immediately, and found the king awake, ſhaking a plum-tree, of whoſe fruit he ſeemed very fond. "Faith, ſire, ſaid we, ſome men "that have paſſed us juſt now, will prepare other "plums for you not quite ſo eaſy of digeſtion." We explained ourſelves in few words; and the king

† The Foreſt of Folambray.

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the more readily believed us, having, as he told us, heard a noiſe during the ſpace of a quarter of an hour, which (not being able to imagine that Givry could have acquitted himſelf ſo ill of his commiſſion) he thought had proceeded from his own camp. His majeſty ordered twelve of us, who were ready at hand, to go inſtantly to the different quarters of the cavalry (a liſt of which he always carried in his pocket) to ſpread the alarm there, and bring them all with the utmoſt expedition to his quarter, while at the ſame time others were ſent to the infantry to form them into battalions, and poſt them between the ſame quarter and the trenches. He gave theſe orders as he was mounting his horſe, and although he rode with great ſwiftneſs, he continued giving them to all he met, with the ſame juſtneſs and extent of thought as if he had been long before prepared for a battle. Such was this prince's quickneſs of apprehenſion, and admirable preſence of mind, that nothing eſcaped him; whereas any other, in the ſame ſituation, inſtead of forming a well regulated plan, would have been hardly able to have fixed upon a tolerable expedient. The enemies upon their arrival found every one prepared for them; to which perhaps the whole army owed its preſervation: for it muſt be confeſſed, that if the enemy's cavalry, which at the ſame inſtant appeared in the front of the camp, where they formed themſelves into ſquadrons with great expedition, had only been able to have thrown the ſoldiers into a conſternation, which the king and part of the officers being abſent, muſt infallibly have happened by an effect of the firſt ſurprize; it would have been eaſy for them, amidſt that ſudden confuſion, to have defeated great part of the army, and probably fear might have delivered up the reſt into their power.

THIS example is alone ſufficient to prove of what utility it is for a general of an army, not only to poſſeſs that quality of the mind which takes in all poſſible

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ſible contingencies, but to be well acquainted with the names, abilities, good and bad qualities of all the officers, as well as the different bodies which compoſe his army, and in his turn to be known by it for him of all the general officers, whoſe advice (the quality of leader apart) they would chuſe in any difficult conjuncture to follow, as the wiſeſt and beſt; to give that advice with firmneſs, but without the oſtentation which ſeems to ariſe from the certainty of having found out the beſt; to inſpire them with a fondneſs for their occupation; to render their diſcipline pleaſing, by never oppreſſing them with orders, but at the ſame time to accuſtom them never to expect that thoſe already eſtabliſhed, will on any occaſion whatever be diſpenſed with or diminiſhed; in a word, to poſſeſs the art of making himſelf be at all times readily obeyed by them, without inſpiring that timidity which keeps them ſilent, when by a ſeaſonable hint they might aſſiſt the thoughts of their leader; an inconvenience which has often been the ruin of many armies, and their commanders.

NOTWITHSTANDING the expedition the king uſed on this occaſion, if the enemy's general had taken advantage of the opportunity which chance had given him, it is probable we might have ſuffered a conſiderable ſhock; but knowing the prince he had to deal with, he durſt not ſuffer the van of his army to appear, till the whole was come out of the foreſt, that one part might be deprived of the aſſiſtance of the other, in caſe the king ſhould be informed of his march, and meet him with his entire army. It happened alſo, that the march of this army was protracted by the breaking of a carriage, upon which a piece of ordnance was placed, which embarraſſed them greatly. The waggons ſplit in pieces when the convoy was defeated, the luggage of which, with the bodies of men and horſes, overſpread the road, cauſed a ſecond embarraſſment ſtill greater: and laſtly, the perſon whom the duke of Maïenne had

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ſent to reconnoitre a place proper for pitching his camp, did not return ſo ſpeedily as he might have done.

THE king took advantage of all theſe delays. He drew out from the trenches as many men as were ſufficient to cover them, without leaving too few within, and ranged the reſt of his army in order of battle before, when the enemies, who no longer hoped to ſurprize him, gave him time. That day was employed on each ſide in chuſing the moſt advantageous poſts for a battle. It was not however the intention of the two generals of the enemy to engage; they dreaded the king's aſcendant, and our cavalry, which was almoſt all compoſed of gentlemen. Their whole deſign by this motion was to oblige the king to raiſe the ſiege of Laon by coming to meet them, and afterwards to evade a battle, or throw, at leaſt, in the confuſion cauſed by their arrival, three thouſand foot, and three hundred troopers into the place; but as we did not know their intention till afterwards that we were informed of it by ſome priſoners whom we took, it was not doubted but that there would be a general action the next day; our two camps being ſo near, that we heard diſtinctly the ſound of their trumpets, and the ſhouts of their ſoldiers.

IN the midſt of the ground that ſeparated us from the enemies, there was one ſingle hill almoſt round, which, with regard to the beſieged city, might be of great importance, if the enemy ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of it. The king, who had ſent me to reconnoitre it, gave me two pieces of cannon, to ſupport a regiment that were by his order to poſt and fortify themſelves there. I cauſed a hut to be erected for myſelf, and when the king came to viſit this poſt, he found every thing in good order. The next day the enemy, making a ſhew of greater reſolution than the evening before, began a ſkirmiſh with all their ſmall ſhot, and endeavoured to make themſelves

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ſelves maſters of a little wood which lay between the two camps. Above fifty thouſand ſmall arms were fired; but with ſo little effect that Parabere, who came to my hut to ſup with me, aſſured me, that they had not twenty men ſlain, nor twice that number wounded.

NIGHT coming on during this tumult; and the two generals of the enemy's army, who thought of nothing leſs than engaging farther, took advantage of it to retreat, without being diſcovered, to La-Fere. The king ſuffered them to fly, contenting himſelf with the diſgrace they had drawn upon themſelves by this ridiculous attempt.

BOOK VII.

I Continued no longer in the camp before Laon after this event. Some difficulties which aroſe in the treaties, particularly that with the baron de Médavy, obliged me, in obedience to his majeſty's orders, to take a journey to Rouen, which was followed by a ſecond to Paris, and another, more conſiderable than both, to Sedan.

THE duke of Bouillon gave daily new occaſions of diſcontent to the king. When, through his majeſty's intereſt, he had married the heireſs of Sedan, he had promiſed to bring him a certain number of troops: but he not only neglected to perform this promiſe, but alſo retained, without aſking the king's permiſſion, the troops which he had lent him to guard his frontier, till he was in peaceable poſſeſſion of his new principality; nor did he make any excuſe for not ſending them back, or give him any account of the ſituation of his affairs. His new grandeur inſpired him with the vanity of making himſelf be looked upon as a formidable potentate in Europe. This, which he could not hope from a ſtate ſo weak

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and confined as his, he ſought to obtain by all ſorts of artifices and intrigues in the neighbouring courts. All the malecontents in Europe were ſure of finding a protector in him, and he was the main ſpring that gave motion to the cabals of Auvergne and Entragues.

One day when the king ſent for me ſo early in the morning that I found him in bed, having only Ozeray and Armagnac in his apartment, and that we were all conſulting upon meaſures to prevent the dangerous deſigns of ſo many ſecret enemies, his majeſty dwelt in particular upon the duke of Bouillon, and ſeemed greatly affected with his ingratitude, after having conferred an obligation on him which ought to have bound him for ever to his intereſts. In effect, the king, by promoting his marriage with mademoiſelle de Bouillon, had given him a proof of friendſhip ſo much the ſtronger, in that he acted againſt his own judgment, and the advice of all thoſe to whom he had mentioned it. The next day after this converſation had paſſed, Beringhen preſented a gentleman to the king, in his chamber, who brought him a letter from Bouillon, in which the duke informed his majeſty of the death of his wife, and excuſed his delay, by the grief and perplexity into which her death had thrown him. This letter likewiſe gave the king to underſtand, that madam de Bouillon had left a will, in which ſhe bequeathed the principality of Sedan and all her eſtates to her huſband, and put them under the protection of the king of France; becauſe it was expected, that her relations would give the duke of Bouillon great diſturbance about this donation. "That is to ſay," ſaid the king, when he had finiſhed the reading the letter, "that the "duke of Bouillon has occaſion for my aſſiſtance: "Is not this a very honourable way of proceeding?"

To humble and puniſh the duke, his majeſty was ſtrongly inclined to leave him to ſtruggle alone againſt theſe difficulties; but the native ſweetneſs of his

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his diſpoſition, and the remembrance of the duke's former ſervices, ſtill influenced him in his favour. He anſwered the duke by a compliment of condolance upon the death of the dutcheſs of Bouillon; and aſſured him of his willingneſs to aſſiſt him. If the king had thought that this laſt mark of his friendſhip would have recalled and fixed the duke of Bouillon for ever in his duty, the commiſſion of him whom he ſent with this letter would have ended in barely delivering it to the duke; and any inconſiderable perſon might have ſufficed for that: but this prince, accuſtomed to confer benefits only on the ungrateful, would make this deputation anſwer ſeveral purpoſes. He turned towards me, and told me, that in his opinion I was the propereſt perſon to carry this letter, becauſe if of itſelf it was not able to make Bouillon adhere conſtantly to his duty, the arguments of a man, who had a right to repreſent it to him ſtrongly, might perhaps accompliſh it; and thus, if neither produced the deſired effect, it was neceſſary to penetrate into the duke's ſecret deſigns, and to examine carefully the will and the ſuppoſed donation of madam de Bouillon.

THIS embaſſy ſeemed too like that which had drawn the hatred of the princeſs and count of Soiſſons upon me; and my firſt emotions upon receiving it were cauſed by my grief that the king's ſervice generally engaged me in ſuch affairs. Henry, who gueſſed part of my thoughts, forgot nothing which he imagined capable of leſſening what was diſagreeable in this commiſſion: he told me, That the ſucceſſes which fortune ſeemed to annex to all affairs wherein I was imployed, as a reward due to my fidelity, induced him to chuſe me, preferably to any other, to tranſact this buſineſs: That none of my ſervices were loſt upon him: And that he took extremely kind the attention I always ſhewed to avoid or break off any connections which were capable of cooling my zeal for him. Speaking theſe words, he

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he embraced me tenderly; adding, with a kindneſs that went to my heart, that he earneſtly intreated me to be careful of my own ſecurity, ſince I ſhould be obliged to paſs through places ſubject to the Guiſes, and to preſerve myſelf for a prince who loved me. Princes who behave in this manner cannot be too faithfully ſerved.

It happened very fortunately that I was at that time very well provided with money, having ſent for remittances from Roſny and Moret, where my wife was: therefore I ſaw myſelf in a condition to ſatisfy, without delay, the king's impatience for my departure. Three hours after I had received this order I went to Bruyeres, where my equipage lay, and, followed by five and twenty troopers well armed, in four days I arrived, without meeting with any bad accident, within view of Sedan. The duke, being informed of my arrival, came to meet me as far as the village of Torcy, which ſeparates this little ſtate from France: there he alighted, and aſſumed a melancholy air to receive my compliments, and to read the king's letter. He loaded me with perſonal civilities; ſeemed charmed with the choice his majeſty had made; and perſiſted (notwithſtanding my repeated inſtances) to treat me as an ambaſſador. I was conducted to very magnificent lodgings, and all the expences of my retinue defrayed. He ſhewed me, with great complaiſance, the fortifications he had raiſed about his caſtle of Sedan, by which, he aſſured me, it would be impregnable. I was not of the ſame opinion: all the expence the duke was at to ſtrengthen this place, could not ſupply the defect of its ſituation.

The ſiege of Laon, of which the duke enquired ſome news, afforded us matter for entering into a more particular converſation. After reiterated aſſurances of his attachment to the king, the duke aſked me, if the many ſubjects of complaint which his majeſty had received from the Spaniſh Low

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Countries, had not determined him to carry the war there; and ſpoke to me of this project, as an affair he ardently wiſhed to ſee executed. He dwelt much upon the advantage of this war; upon the manner in which the provinces of Luxembourg, Liege, and Namur, might be attacked; upon the correſpondences which, with this view, he carried on in the principal cities of Flanders; and upon the powerful aſſiſtance he offered to lead there. It was not difficult to believe, that he had uſed his utmoſt endeavours to promote a war, of which all the advantage would be his: but it was far from being ſo with the king. His intereſt was not concerned in it; and with regard to him, this fine project was a mere chimera. Indeed the duke, fearing that at court it would be treated with contempt, omitted nothing which he thought might bring me to approve of it, by painting it in the fineſt colours, and with an air of diſintereſtedneſs capable of impoſing upon me. After having thus diſcourſed upon Flanders, he plunged into politics, and diſplayed all the powers of his eloquence in proving to me, that, it being the king's chief intereſt to depreſs the houſe of Auſtria, he could never attain this end but by keeping up a ſtrict union with the proteſtants. The king's late abjuration he ſuppoſed was but a neceſſary ceremony, which had only changed him in appearance; and which he thought to prove ſufficiently, by two or three ſtrokes of raillery upon ſome ſuperſtitious practices of devout catholics, upon the mendicant monks, and the equivocations of the jeſuits †.

THE duke of Bouillon ſtopped here, like a man who was afraid to explain himſelf too freely, and looked upon me earneſtly with a feigned inquietude. Hitherto I had liſtened to him without interruption;

† The duke de Bouillon was generally known for ſo hot-headed and furious a calviniſt, that praiſe or blame from his mouth, on the opinions as well as on the perſons of catholics, was almoſt of equal weight.

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and discovered, without his perceiving it, all the ideas which rose in that ambitious brain. But many things still remained to be known, for which it was only necessary to let him speak a long time; for it is not possible but that a man, who is at once extremely vain, and a great talker, should, at length, betray all his secrets: I therefore forced a smile into my countenance, and assumed the air of one filled with admiration of his wit, his policy, and his eloquence. The duke's self-love thus agreeably flattered, he did not wait for much intreaty, but resuming his discourse, he went on to make me sensible of the true interest of the protestants, in the situation affairs were at present in France. Here it became necessary for me to supply, by my own surmises, what he left unsaid; either because the duke of Bouillon's expression suffered a little from the constraint he laid himself under, for fear of falling into some indiscretion †, or that he thought the affectation of a mysterious air did more honour to himself and the party, or indeed, that his discourse was built on a system so sublime, and ideas so abstracted, that he likewise was lost in it as well as I.

I RECALLED the duke from this too elevated flight; and he told me in terms more plain, that the protestants were so much disgusted at the king's conversion, that he could allay their apprehensions no

† The true character of the duke de Bouillon, is thus given us: "On set purpose he used to express himself," says the writer of his life, "in so dark and perplexed a manner, that he could give to what "he spoke any sense that he pleased. He pretended that there were "some nice conjunctures, in which a man must either be silent, or "follow his manner of speaking." Another maxim of the duke de Bouillon's according to the same writer, was, "That a man ought to "be very cautious of giving any thing under his hand. A man in-"terprets what he has spoken as he pleases; and he agrees only to so "much of it as he thinks proper, retrenching a more or less. He ap-"proves or disapproves as he thinks convenient. But the case is not "the same with regard to what is written, &c." M. de Sully was of a quite contrary opinion. We may find some politicians, who will not condemn the duke de Bouillon; but none who does not commend the duke de Sully.

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otherwiſe, than by declaring war againſt Spain conjointly with them; that, unleſs this was done, it would be impoſſible to perſuade them that they were not made a ſacrifice of, and for the future would be always expoſed to the violences of the French catholics acting in concert with the pope and the Spaniards. This piece of intelligence, from the proof he brought of it, it is probable the duke himſelf thought as falſe as it really was. He ſaid that Villeroy was commiſſioned by the dukes of Lorrain, Maïenne, and Mercœur, to propoſe to the king, who was then at Fountainebleau, this union between France and Spain; and that the pope would not have refuſed the king his apoſtolic benediction, with a bull, acknowledging him king of France, but becauſe he would have this union the preliminary. To this proof Bouillon added others equally groundleſs, by which he thought to make it appear that the catholics had wholly eſtranged the king from the proteſtants, and had prevailed upon him to uſe them with great injuſtice. The grievances of the proteſtants thus eſtabliſhed, the duke was willing to inform me of the remedy they had thought proper to apply. They were preparing, he ſaid, to fortify immediately all their ſtrong towns, to chuſe a leader out of the kingdom, and within it, (but the place he did not name) to eſtabliſh a general council for the affairs of religion, to which all the different churches were to addreſs themſelves, and which was to determine, in the laſt reſort, all the affairs of the ten other provincial councils, into which the calviniſt part of France was to be divided; and that the power of this ſovereign council might be abſolute and unconteſted, a protector or foreign prince was to be put at its head, capable of making it reſpected.

WHILST he was talking of theſe ſubjects, the duke of Bouillon, according to the occaſion he had to dazzle, convince, or deceive me, aſſumed ſucceſſively the character of a friend and ally of the king's, a good

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a good proteſtant, or a mere relator of facts, but always that of a man conſummate in the politician's art, and the depoſitary of all the ſecret affairs of the proteſtants. He could not, however, involve himſelf ſo well in myſtery, but that I comprehended plainly enough, that all theſe ſchemes of high and low councils, theſe regulations ſo particulariſed, might very probably have their riſe in the duke's own brain, and not in the ſynods of St. Maixant, and St. Foi, as he would have had me believe. This foreign prince for protector, eſpecially, ſeemed to me to be entirely his own invention, and in reality himſelf, who gave his own views for determined ſchemes, and whoſe ſole end (for what ſprings will not ambition put in motion?) was perhaps merely this; that by communicating theſe deſigns to the court, as if the calviniſts had really performed them, and were ready to put them in execution, I ſhould raiſe the king's indignation againſt them; and by this artifice he would oblige the huguenots to take ſuch a reſolution as he wiſhed, but durſt not openly inſpire them with; which was, to chuſe him for a leader, whom the hatred and complaints of the catholics pointed out to them for a defender. All that happened in the ſequel has but the more confirmed me in this belief.

AFTER having thus, as he imagined, made me ſubſervient to his deſigns, the duke reflected that he ſhould loſe more than he gained, if the king, of whoſe aſſiſtance he ſtood in need, ſhould entertain any ſuſpicion to his diſadvantage; he therefore reſerved a moſt refined ſtroke of policy for the laſt. This was to aſſure me, that theſe propoſals had indeed been made him; but that, far from approving them, or offering his aſſiſtance, he had done every thing in his power to prevent ſuch deſigns taking place; in which he had not the good fortune to ſucceed. Can any thing be imagined more treacherous and crafty! Certainly, if the duke of Bouillon was able

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able to flatter himself, that these arts would leave me in absolute ignorance of the affairs of the protestants, and the dispositions of the seditious, he could not hinder me from perceiving at least some of his own particular sentiments with regard to the prince whom he betrayed.

I COULD no otherwise answer a discourse so full of artifice, than by confining myself to plain and simple truths, which is the most effectual way to disconcert these so curiously-disguised politicians. I assured him, in a few words, that the king was not, nor ever would be, changed with regard to the protestants; that he was willing to grant them all the advantages they could reasonably demand, but that the present situation of his affairs would oblige him to defer some time longer those testimonies of his friendship: that his majesty had not forgot any of those causes which Spain had given him to hate her: and that he would always preserve a lively resentment of them, even if he were not to enter into the common concern of Europe, to put a stop to the design of the house of Austria for universal monarchy; but that, in order to secure success, it was necessary that all should be quiet within his kingdom, since it might be expected that Spain would defend herself in a different manner, when she saw herself directly attacked, than she had done in a war, wherein she had only engaged as an auxiliary.

I TOLD the duke de Bouillon, that I readily believed all he said to me with regard to himself, since he must be sensible that the principles of honour, justice, and gratitude, pointed out to him too plainly the conduct he ought to observe with the king, to leave him a possibility of mistaking it. He refused me the troops I demanded for Henry, nor would he permit me even to peruse madam de Bouillon's last will; saying, that she had sealed it in a casket, and exacted a promise from him, that he would not open it but with the usual forms of law, if any one should question

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queſtion the validity of it; and that ſhe had afterwards obliged him to confirm this promiſe with an oath. It was not difficult for me to comprehend that any remonſtrances from me would be uſeleſs; therefore my commiſſion being now completed, I reſolved to return immediately to Laon.

I WAS greatly ſurprized, on my arrival at the camp, to meet the king, who was going to hunt, paſſing ſo near the walls of the city that he was within muſquet-ſhot of it: but I was ſoon informed that both ſides had lain down their arms, the city having capitulated upon condition to ſurrender in ten days, if within that time they were not aſſiſted by an army, or at leaſt if a reinforement of eight or nine hundred men were not thrown into the place. Henry made me keep cloſe beſide him during the chace, that he might hear all the particulars of my journey. When I told him that the duke of Bouillon refuſed to ſhew me the will of the deceaſed ducheſs, he replied, that he knew from thence what he ought to think of the donation †. He entertained

† In order to deſtroy the ſuſpicions which the whole of this account might raiſe as to the reality of that donation of the dutcheſs of Bouillon, I will give you what the duke de Bouillon's biographer ſays on this head. "By her laſt will," ſays he, "ſhe appointed the duke "de Bouillon, her huſband, her univerſal heir. It was currently re"ported that, notwithſtanding this laſt will of the dutcheſs, the ſuc"ceſſion would be conteſted with her huſband: the truth is, Charles "de la Mark, the count de Maulevrie, uncle to Charlotte de la Mark, "alledged that this ſucceſſion belonged to him, and that ſhe could "not diſpoſe of it, in favour of her huſband, to his prejudice. "The duke de Montpenſier pretended likewiſe, that the ſovereign"ties of Bouillon, Sedan, Jametz, and Raucourt, could not be con"teſted with him; as he had been ſubſtituted therein by Robert de "la Mark, the laſt duke of Bouillon. The duke de Bouillon thought "it more eligible to accommodate matters with theſe two claimants, "than to engage in a law-ſuit, which would divert him from the "execution of his grand deſigns: the accommodation was concluded; "and the ſovereign juriſdiction of Bouillon, Sedan, and Raucourt, "remained in property to him." Hiſt. de Henry duc de Bouillon, par Marſolier, tom. II. liv. iv. This hiſtorian likewiſe ſpeaks of the duke de Sully's journey to Sedan, and of the protection which Henry IV. offered the duke de Bouillon on this occaſion. But here we cannot but obſerve, that it would have been much better not to quote, on this

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the ſame opinion of the duke of Bouillon as I did, "who offers," ſaid he, "to be a mediator in diſ-"turbances which he himſelf has been the author "of." Nor was he leſs diſpleaſed at his refuſing to ſend the troops he demanded: but in the preſent conjuncture it was neceſſary that his majeſty ſhould diſſemble all theſe occaſions of diſcontent with the duke; and therefore, in public, he ſeemed to be very well ſatisfied with his conduct, and determined to maintain him in Sedan. With reſpect to the war with Spain, which I was commiſſioned to propoſe to him, he deferred deliberating on it to another time, in full council.

THE count of Sommerive, du Bourg, and Jeannin, finding it impoſſible for them to prevent the inſurrection of the citizens and the garriſon of Laon, who were incenſed againſt them as tyrants that had rendered their domination inſupportable, thought proper to yield before the time preſcribed for delivering the city to the king. They had no longer any hopes of aſſiſtance after the misfortune which happened to a reinforcement the duke of Maïenne endeavoured to throw into the place. This reinforcement coming too late near Laon, to have any hopes of ſurprizing the beſiegers, thought it beſt to wait for night in the wood, where they kept themſelves concealed all day. The king hunting in that part of the foreſt at the ſame time, his dogs diſcovered the ambuſcade. The enemies, although eight or nine hundred in number, inſtead of ſhewing themſelves, or attacking the king, who had only three hundred horſe with him, thought they ſhould be able to avoid

this ſubject, Sully's Memoirs, than to diſguiſe their ſenſe, and conceal, as he has done, the objection that ariſes from the text of theſe Memoirs: and this ſo much the rather (it would be to no purpoſe to diſſemble it, after all that has been ſaid of it, and very lately, by Amelot de la Houſſaye, in his Memoirs, in the article Bouillon la Mark) ſo much the rather, I ſay, as Henry IV. and the duke de Sully, are not the only perſons who ſeem to doubt of the reality of ſuch donation.

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an abſolute diſcovery by ſeparating, the better to conceal themſelves: but the dogs ſtill continued to purſue them, and the king's troop arriving in the mean time, they were ſurprized in ſo great a diſorder, that our footmen and ſervants only, without any aſſiſtance from the three hundred horſemen, made themſelves maſters of them, and pillaged them entirely.

AFTER the ſurrender of Laon, the king judged it neceſſary to take a journey to the frontiers of Flanders; his chief inducement to it being the hopes that many of theſe cities would ſurrender to him at his approach. The event did not anſwer his expectations; and his majeſty drew no other advantage from his journey, than confirming in their allegiance Amiens, Abbeville, Montreuil, Peronne, and ſeveral other cities, into each of which he made a ſolemn entry. I can ſay no more of the tranſactions here, the king's ſervice calling me at that time to Paris upon affairs of leſs importance than the former, and which for that reaſon I ſhall not enter into a particular detail of, any more than of what had paſſed in the different provinces of the kingdom. The reduction of Morlais, and Quimper, by marechal * d'Aumont, with the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh forces; the building of Fort du Croiſic, by the duke of Mercœur, at the head of the Spaniards, to be a check upon Breſt, were the moſt conſiderable exploits of the two parties in Brittany. Savoy, Piedmont, Provence and Dauphiné, continued to be the theatre of a † war always favourable to Leſdiguieres, againſt the duke of Savoy, notwithſtanding the defeat and taking ‡ of Crequy.

* He was killed the following year when beſieging Comper, by a cannon-ball that broke his arm to ſhatters; being upwards of ſeventy years of age: he ſaid no more when he found himſelf wounded, than theſe words, *I have got it.* He was generally eſteemed, and generally regretted. See his eulogy and great qualities in M. de Thou, b. cxiii.

† See theſe military expeditions in the hiſtorians.

‡ Charles de Crequy, ſon-in-law to Leſdiguieres, coming to the relief

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THE duke of Maïenne, seeing Laon taken, almost all Picardy in the king's party, the chief officers of the league, and the duke of Guise himself, disposed to treat soon of an accommodation with his majesty, yielded at last to the advice of the president Jeannin ‖, who had long pressed him to fix himself in one particular province, and there make powerful efforts in time, to render himself independent; so that, after fortune had subjected all to the king, which he doubted not would soon happen, he might ot least have secured a retreat to shelter him in the reverse of his.

BURGUNDY was the province § fixed upon by the duke of Maïenne; and he marched thither with his forces, after placing good garrisons in Dourlens, La-Fere, and Soissons. Besides his being already in possession of great part of this province, its contiguity to Savoy, Franche Comté, Lorrain, Switzerland, and Germany, from whence he hoped to draw great supplies, was a farther inducement for him to fix there. The pope, and the emperor, seemed to enter into his views: he might strengthen his right of conquest, by a resignation in form, which Spain would grant him so much the more willingly, as by that means she would revive a claim upon Burgundy, long since suppressed, but never wholly renounced. All these probable advantages made it be believed by many persons, that the ancient kingdom of Burgundy was upon the point of being restored. The duke of Maïenne's conduct in these quarters, the remaining part of this year, and till the month of April in

lief of Aiguebelle, besieged by the duke of Savoy, was defeated and taken prisoner. This did not happen till 1598.

‖ I know not if the author does not bear a little too lightly on this president: at least it has been said that more than two years before, at his return from Spain, he had been the first to advise the duke de Maïenne to come to an agreement with the king; as being disgusted at the haughtiness and excessive vanity with which the king of Spain in treating with him, had said, *my town of Paris, my town of Orleans*, as if France had actually been his own.

§ The duke of Maïenne was governor of this province.

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the following, ſupported this opinion; and I had leſs reaſon than any other to doubt of his intention in this reſpect, after the letters I ſaw at Paris, in the hands of the cardinal of Bourbon.

BUT unfortunately for the duke of Maïenne, the Burgundians were not diſpoſed to make choice of a ſubject for their maſter: they never before gave ſuch convincing proofs of their fidelity to their ſovereign. The duke of Guiſe beginning with endeavours to ſecure Beaune, by throwing a ſtrong garriſon into it, the burghers roſe againſt them, defeated them, and forced them to ſhut themſelves up in the caſtle: and as they might ſtill ſuffer great inconveniences from them, they fortified themſelves with barricades againſt the caſtle, and invited marechal Biron to come to their aſſiſtance, permitting him to lodge his little army ſix weeks within their walls. They afterwards attacked the caſtle in form, with a battery of twelve pieces of cannon; and carried on their works ſo vigorouſly, that they drove out at laſt the garriſon of the league. I ſhall give an account hereafter of the expeditions in Burgundy; at preſent I muſt leave them, to return to the affairs of the capital.

I PERCEIVED the cardinal's illneſs to increaſe ſo prodigiouſly every day, that, not doubting but his end was very near, I ſtaid at Paris to give the king immediate notice of it. He died without making that diſpoſition of his benefices † which he ſeemed to have ſo ardently deſired. His majeſty was afflicted at his death, having loſt a good kinſman and an affectionate ſubject. He wrote to me, that he was tired with the importunity of ſeveral perſons who coveted the cardinal's ſpoils; and that, to get rid of

† He was archbiſhop of Rouen, abbé of St. Denis, of St. Germain-des-Pres, of St. Ouen and St. Catherine of Rouen, of Orcamp, &c. De Thou repreſents him as a prince who loved the ſciences; he was eloquent, mild, and of an agreeable diſpoſition, but extremely weak. He died on the 23th of July.

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them, his general anſwer was, that they were already diſpoſed of. His deſigns with regard to theſe benefices were as follows: In the agreement with the abbot de Tiron, certain abbeys belonging to the chancellor and the governor of Pont de l'Arche were yielded to him, for which thoſe two gentlemen demanded to be largely indemnified out of the benefices of the deceaſed cardinal. The king was deſirous that the abbé de Tiron ſhould releaſe theſe abbeys to the proprietors, and receive in exchange for them the archbiſhoprick of Rouen, valued at thirty thouſand livres a year, but charged by the king with the payment of a penſion of four thouſand crowns, which he had promiſed to the chevalier d'Oiſe †, retaining for himſelf Gaillon-houſe, which he deſigned to purchaſe from the abbé; and ordered me to prevail upon him to accept of this equivalent. As for the abbey of St. Ouen, one of the fineſt benefices the deceaſed cardinal had poſſeſſed, the king, as yet, had not beſtowed it on any one; and he had the goodneſs to tell me, that he would not do it without charging it with a penſion of ten thouſand livres for me.

THE greateſt difficulty I met with in managing the king's affairs at Paris, was to communicate his prudent œconomy to the directors of his finances, the ſuperintendant eſpecially. The abuſe of ſuffering the finances to become a prey to favourites (an evil, the ſource of which may be traced back to the reign of Charles VIII.) had in this laſt reign increaſed to ſuch a degree, that had a man of the greateſt induſtry, prudence, and integrity imaginable, been at the head of the finances, he perhaps would not have been able to prevent the bad conſequences of ſo prodigious a diſſipation: and, unhappily, ‡ d'O

† George de Brancas Villars, brother to admiral de Villars.

‡ Francis d'O, lord of Freſnes, Maillebois, &c. firſt gentleman of the bedchamber, governor of Paris and the iſle of France, ſuperintendant of the finances, &c. "He ſurpaſſed kings and princes in extravagance

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poſſeſſed none of theſe qualities. His diſpoſition, naturally leaning towards profuſion, indolence, and voluptuouſneſs, had been wholly ruined by all thoſe vices for which the court of Henry III. was famous, deep play, unbounded debauchery, expenſive follies, domeſtic diſorders, and extravagances of every kind. D'O was on a footing with Bellegarde ‖, Souvrai, Villequier, Quélus, Saint-Luc, Maugiron, Saint-Mégrin, Livarrot, Joyeuſe, Epernon, la Valette, du Bouchage, Thermes, and many other leſs declared favourites: and the title of minion was all the recommendation he had for a poſt which the moſt careleſs princes think fit, for their own intereſt, to expect from thoſe with which they reward ſuch ſort of ſervants.

SUCH was the man by whom the finances were conducted at a time, when, minions and miſtreſſes being excluded from the council, one would have expected they ſhould have been put under other managements and what is ſtill more ſurprizing, the king, in his moſt urgent occaſions, had not even the privilege of dividing his own revenues with the ſuperintendant. D'O did not ſcruple to let him loſe a city or a governor for the want of a very inconſiderable ſum of money, while at the ſame time he denied none to his own pleaſures. Liera-

" travagance and prodigality; for, even to his ſuppers, he had pies " made of muſk and amber ſerved up, that amounted to twenty-five " thouſand crowns." Journal de l'Etoile, ann. 1594, p. 37.

‖ Roger de St. Larry de Bellegarde. Gilles de Souvrai. René de Villequier. Jacques Levis de Caylus or Quélus. Francis d'Epinai de St. Luc. Francis de Maugiron. Paul Stuart de Cauſſade ſieur de St. Mégrin. Jean d'Arces de Livarrot. Anne de Joyeuſe. John Louis and Bernard de Nogaret. Henry de Joyeuſe, count du Bouchage, afterwards a capuchin. John de St. Latry de Thermes, or Auguſtus baron of Thermes. Tho' Souvrai had been one of Henry III's favourites, he ſhould not be ranked in the number of this prince's minions: he was a man of an acknowledged merit and probity. Henry III. ſaid, that if he were neither king nor prince, he would gladly be Souvrai. He refuſed the commiſſion with which Henry III. would have charged him, to aſſaſſinate the marechal de Montmorency, when in priſon. De Thou, b. lxi.

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mont †, governor of Catelet, applied to me, to ſolicit the payment of his garriſon from D'O: I thought the affair of ſuch importance, that I ſubdued my reluctance to aſk a favour of him, and acquitted myſelf of my commiſſion; but with little ſucceſs. The ſuperintendant, after I had left him, ſaid to meſſieurs d'Edouville ‡ and de Mouſſy, that he had rather ſee this place in the hands of Spaniards than proteſtants. Lieramont was of that religion. Mouſſy, who was my kinſman, repeating this diſcourſe to me, I declared to the ſuperintendant, that he ſhould be anſwerable for the place, if it were loſt for want of this payment. But the menace had little effect on him.

FORTUNATELY for the king, a retention of urine delivered him, a few days after, from ſo bad a ſubject. And it is worthy of obſervation, that this man, who was poſſeſſed of more than four millions, or rather all the money in the kingdom, which he diſpoſed of almoſt abſolutely; more ſplendid in his equipages, his furniture, and his table, than the king himſelf, was not yet abandoned by his phyſicians, when his relations, who had always ſeemed to bear him great affection, his domeſtics ‖, and ſome others, under the title of creditors, pillaged him with ſuch eagerneſs, and ſo completely, that a long time before he expired there was nothing left but bare walls in the chamber where he lay; as if fortune thought fit to finiſh with him at leaſt by an act of juſtice §.

† Francis de Dampierre, ſieur de Lieramont or Liermont.

‡ . . . . ſieur d'Edouville, ... Boutillier, ſieur Mouſſy.

‖ He had no children by Charlotte Catherine de Villequier, his wife. "Henry IV. playing at tennis with M. d'O, made him obſerve "that the marker ſtole their balls, and afterwards called to him "with a loud voice, D'O, you ſee that all the world cheats us." Le Grain, b. vii.

§ "If," ſays M. de Grillon, "each muſt give in his accounts "above, I believe that poor d'O will find himſelf much at a loſs to "find good documents for his." It was ſaid that he died very much "in debt, more than he was worth; and that there were five and "twenty or thirty officers in his houſe when he died. The trea-

"ſurers

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THE king returned to Paris to treat of a truce, which the duke of Lorrain requeſted inſtantly; and of an accommodation with the duke of Guiſe, who ſolicited it by the dutcheſs † of Guiſe his mother, the king's couſin-german, and mademoiſelle de Guiſe his ſiſter. It muſt be confeſſed, that of all thoſe perſons who had been in arms againſt the king, the duke of Guiſe deſerved moſt indulgence. To the common motives of religion and independence, which ſeemed to authorize all things, he joined that of a father aſſaſſinated by the command of the preſent king's predeceſſor. It was madam de Guiſe, his mother, whoſe perſuaſions chiefly induced him to take this ſtep: ſhe was continually repreſenting to her ſon, that the revolt of the princes and nobility of the kingdom, which in the beginning was juſtified by religion, became criminal after Henry had removed the only obſtacle that could hinder him from enjoying his right of inheritance to the crown.

IN any other age, which had not, like this, loſt every diſtinction between virtue and vice, this woman would have been the ornament of her ſex, for the qualities of her heart and mind. Her whole conduct was regulated by a native rectitude of ſoul; ſo that it was eaſy to ſee that ſhe had not even the idea of evil, either to act or to adviſe it: and at the ſame

" ſurers regretted him extremely, and called him their father: it " was even ſaid, that three of them gave each fifty crowns to Collot " to engage him to dreſs him properly. M. le Grand, his good " friend, was almoſt diſtracted for his loſs; for he allowed him every " year one hundred thouſand franks to ſpend. Madame was not at all " ſorry for it, becauſe he almoſt ſtarved her: thoſe of the religion re- " gretted him as little, for he wiſhed them no good. Madam de " Liancourt mourned for him, becauſe ſhe could do with him as ſhe " pleaſed; and if he kept her in favour with the king---- M. Se- " guier, the dean, who aſſiſted him to the laſt, as likewiſe did his " brothers, repeated to him, as he was dying, *Have mercy on me, O* " *God.* Some of the laſt words he ſpoke were, Remember me to his " majeſty; he will know better, after my death, wherein I have " been of ſervice to him, than he did while I lived." L'Etoile, ibid.

† Catherine of Cleves, wife to the duke of Guiſe who was killed at Blois. Charles of Lorrain duke of Guiſe.

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time of so sweet a disposition, that she never was subject to the smallest emotion of hatred, malignity, envy, or even ill humour. No woman ever possessed so many graces of conversation, or added to a wit so subtil and refined, a simplicity so artless and agreeable. Her repartees were full of salt and sprightliness; and the pleasing, as well as greater qualities, so happily blended in her composition, that she was, at once, tender and lively, tranquil and gay. It was not long before the king became perfectly well acquainted with the character of this lady; and from that moment he not only forgot all his resentment, but also behaved towards her with all the familiarity and frankness of a sincere friend. He consented to give the necessary passports to the sieurs de la Rochette, Perigord, and Bigot, whom the duke of Guise sent to propose his demands; and, wholly subdued by the instances of these two ladies, named, on his side, three agents to treat with the duke: these were the chancellor de Chiverny, the duke de Retz, and Beaulieu-Rusé, secretary of state.

THESE three persons, to shew their great skill in negotiating, began at first by using all those turns and artifices which policy has unseasonably introduced in the place of that frank and open conduct, that without deceiving any one, produces the same effect. Their conferences lasted ten days successively; yet at the end of this time the smallest preliminary was not settled. Madam de Guise, who was tortured by these affected delays, came one day into the king's apartment, when his majesty did me the honour to converse with me, holding my hand; and turning the discourse upon the treaty with her son, she complained to the king, with her usual gracefulness, but mingled with a little impatience, that he had employed three men, "who go," said she, "three different roads to reach no end; the first "by never saying more than these words, *We must*

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"*consider*;

" *conſider*; *We muſt adviſe*; *Let us do better:* the ſe-
" cond, by not underſtanding himſelf, although
" he ſpeaks continually: and the third, by never
" ceaſing to find fault." This was, in reality, the true character of the three negotiators. This lady, ſuffering herſelf to be wholly tranſported by her zeal for the king, and tenderneſs for her ſon, taking his majeſty's hand, which ſhe kiſſed, notwithſtanding Henry's endeavours to the contrary, ſhe conjured him to receive the returning allegiance of the duke of Guiſe, and give her the conſolation to ſee her family reſtored to the favour of their king. She ſpoke with an effuſion of heart ſo ſtrong and lively, that the king, affected by it even to tears, could not hinder himſelf from anſwering, " Well couſin, what
" is it you deſire me to do? I can refuſe you no-
" thing." " All I deſire," replied ſhe, " is, that you
" will name the perſon whoſe hand your majeſty
" holds to treat with my ſon." " What!" returned the king, " this wicked huguenot. Truly I
" grant him you very willingly, although I know
" that he is your kinſman, and that he has a very
" great friendſhip for you." That very moment he took away the cognizance of this affair from the three commiſſaries, and cauſed a commiſſion, under the great ſeal, to be given to me; not only for ſettling the treaty with the duke of Guiſe *, but alſo for the affairs of the whole province of Champaigne. It may be eaſily imagined, that after this the chancellor bore me no good-will; but it is the part of an old and artful courtier, to appear ſo much the more obliging and reſpectful to thoſe who are in favour, as the reſentment he harbours againſt them in his heart is ſevere and laſting. Chiverny †, indeed, excelled in this art.

* See M. de Thou, b. cxi. who gives himſelf ſome ſhare in this accommodation with the duke of Guiſe.

† Philip Hurault de Chiverny, chancellor of France, died in 1599, aged 72.

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THE duke of Guiſe had begun with very extravagant propoſitions, which if he had inſiſted upon, would have rendered his treaty ineffectual. Doubtleſs, he was induced to make them, through his knowledge of thoſe perſons to whom he was referred: he thought, that to obtain ſomething he muſt demand a great deal. He claimed no leſs than the poſt of high ſteward of the king's houſhold, which the count of Soiſſons had been in poſſeſſion of ever ſince the aſſaſſination of the duke of Guiſe, when it was beſtowed upon him; to poſſeſs the government of Champaigne, which had likewiſe been given to the duke of Nevers; to enjoy alſo the benefices of his uncle, the cardinal of Guiſe, particularly the archbiſhopric of Rheims, then actually poſſeſſed by M. du Bec, a relation of madam de Liancourt, the king's miſtreſs. He added ſeveral other articles; but theſe three gave riſe to the greateſt difficulties. The duke of Guiſe, being informed of the change of the commiſſioners, reſolved immediately to leſſen the extravagance of his demands; and wrote to the ducheſs, his mother, and to his agents, to conclude a treaty with me upon reaſonable conditions, and even at any price whatever. He had ſoon after a new inducement to finiſh the treaty, as ſoon as poſſible, which I was ignorant of: he had diſcovered that the city of Rheims (the moſt conſiderable preſent he had to offer the king) deſigning to make a merit of returning to its obedience voluntarily, had ſolicited the reſt of the province to do the like; and had already drawn great part of it into their views. The duke of Guiſe, to prevent this inconvenience, having attempted to place a garriſon there, the inhabitants declared that they would guard the city themſelves; and this refuſal cauſing a debate, they anſwered the duke's menaces by others no leſs haughty.

AFTER the ſecond conference I had with the duke's agent, there was no mention either of the poſt of high ſteward of the houſhold, the govern-

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ment of Champaigne, or of the benefices; and those three obstacles being removed, I saw very little difficulty remaining. I proposed to the king, the drawing the duke of Guise from Champaigne, to fix him in Provence, by giving him that government for a recompence; so that his interest there being united with that of Lesdiguieres, and Ornano, who supported the king's party against the duke of Epernon, they might at once join to reduce the power of that formidable subject. The king consented to this so much the more willingly, as by the manner in which the family of Guise acted with him, he judged he might depend upon their fidelity; and he ordered me to conclude with him upon this plan. I made the proposal to the duke's agents; and, upon reiterated commands from his majesty, used so much diligence in settling all other matters, that the next evening the treaty with the duke of Guise was concluded and signed by me for the king, and by madam de Guise, and the duke's three commissioners, for him.

The next day six deputies from the city of Rheims arrived at Paris; and, addressing themselves to me, told me, that the king needed not bestow any great rewards upon the duke of Guise, not only because Rheims was no longer in his power, but because the inhabitants were ready to deliver him up to the king. They did not require to be introduced to his majesty, but said they would be satisfied with his approbation in writing, or only mine; submitting to the king to grant them what recompence he should think fit: and ended with offering me, according to custom, a present of ten thousand crowns, which I neither could, nor would accept of. I thanked them in the king's name for their good-will; and assured them that he would, with great pleasure, receive this testimony of it. I deferred giving them an answer, till I had received orders from his majesty, to whom I went immediately to relate

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relate all that had paſſed. The king was at that time in his cloſet, from whence he made every one but Beringhen depart, and liſtened to me walking, often ſhaking his head, and ſmiling, through a reflection on the natural levity and inconſtancy of the people. He afterwards took me aſide to the window, and deſired me to tell him what terms I was upon with the duke of Guiſe. As ſoon as I had informed him that the treaty was concluded, he did not heſitate a moment whether or not he ſhould obſerve it; but he would not, however, appear inſenſible of the affection of the city of Rheims. I introduced the deputies to him, whom he thanked as became a king, beſtowing upon them a very conſiderable reward with an air ſo gracious, that they returned full of joy and admiration.

THE treaty with the duke of Guiſe being with the uſual form ſigned by † Gêvres for the king, the ducheſs and mademoiſelle de Guiſe demanded his majeſty's permiſſion for the duke to come himſelf, and aſſure him of his obedience. I wrote to him to ſeek for no other ſecurity than that permiſſion: and he made no ſcruple to comply with my injunctions. He aſſembled as many of his friends as he could, and came and threw himſelf at the king's feet, with ſo many marks of a ſincere repentance, that the king, who penetrated into his inmoſt ſoul, inſtead of reproaches, or a ſilence, which on ſuch occaſions is more terrible than the ſevereſt reproaches, made uſe of all his endeavours to reaſſure him: he embraced him three ſeveral times, honoured him with the name of nephew, treated him with the greateſt tenderneſs and freedom, and without affecting either to avoid or recall what had paſſed, mentioned the deceaſed duke of Guiſe with honour. He ſaid that they had been friends in their youth, although often

† Lewis Potier de Gêvres, ſecretary of ſtate. From him is deſcended the branch of the Gêvres; and from Nicolas Potier de Blancmenil his elder brother, that of Novion.

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rivals for the ſame ladies; and that the duke's good qualities, and a conformity of diſpoſition, had united them in a fixed averſion to the duke of Alençon. A friend, who endeavours to reconcile himſelf to his friend after a ſlight quarrel, could not have behaved otherwiſe; and all thoſe that were witneſſes of this reception, could never ſufficiently admire a king, who, with ſo many qualities to inſpire fear, employed only thoſe that created love.

THE duke of Guiſe, abſolutely gained by this diſcourſe, replied to the king, that he would neglect nothing to render himſelf worthy of the honour his majeſty did the memory of his father, and the ſentiments he was pleaſed to entertain of himſelf: and from that time he took ſuch care to convince him that his reſpect and fidelity to him would continue inviolable, that the king, forgetting all which any other, in his ſituation, would have apprehended from the raiſing again a family which had made kings tremble, lived with him familiarly, and admitted him with the other courtiers into all his parties of pleaſure: for ſuch was the character of Henry, that that exterior gravity, which the royal dignity makes it neceſſary to aſſume, never hindered him from reſigning himſelf up freely to pleaſures, which an equality of conditions ſpreads over ſociety. The truly great man knows how to be by turns, and as occaſions require, whatever he ought to be, maſter, or equal, king, or citizen: it is no diminution of his greatneſs, to unbend himſelf in private, provided that he ſhews himſelf, in his public character, capable of performing all the duties of his high ſtation: the courtier will never forget that he is with his maſter.

MADAM de Guiſe entering the king's apartment ſome days after, when the duke of Guiſe preſented the napkin to his majeſty for a light repaſt which he took in the afternoon, ſhe again took occaſion to expreſs her gratitude to him for his goodneſs to her ſon, and told him, with a lively emotion, that if ever the

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the duke of Guiſe was deficient in his duty and obedience, ſhe would diſinherit him, and diſown him for her ſon. The king, running to embrace her, aſſured her that he, on his ſide, would ever preſerve for the duke, and his whole family, the tenderneſs of a father.

THE treaty I had juſt concluded with the duke of Guiſe, did not fail to be loudly exclaimed againſt. His own particular enemies, and that ſort of people which ſwarm about a court, who have no other buſineſs than to decry the conduct of perſons in place, united themſelves againſt me, and being ſecretly ſupported by thoſe from whom the cognizance of this affair was taken, proclaimed every where, that I undertook this commiſſion only to pleaſe madam de Guiſe. The duke of Epernon was not ſilent on this occaſion; and whenever the duke of Guiſe and he were mentioned together, he conſtantly ſaid, that I had offended the one without cauſe, to oblige the other againſt all reaſon. Theſe diſcourſes were ſo often repeated to the king, that he was at laſt made to believe, I had acted with rather too much precipitation: however, he was not diſpleaſed with me upon that account.

IT was not difficult for me to juſtify myſelf; which I did by an apology in writing, and preſented it to the king. I there defended my conduct with the following reaſons: That the king could not poſſibly grant the three articles before-mentioned, without giving diſguſt to a great many other perſons; notwithſtanding which, he would have been obliged to grant them, if he had not had a government to beſtow upon the duke, which was the leaſt recompence he could expect, after reſigning Champaigne, and yielding up ſo many other claims: That with regard to the government which was given him, no other could be choſen, from whence fewer bad conſequences might be feared, than from Pro-

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vence †. For upon a ſuppoſition that the duke of Guiſe might hereafter become capable of forgetting the new oath of allegiance he had taken, there was little danger to be apprehended from him in a province which had no communication with Lorrain, the Low Countries, and Burgundy eſpecially: on the contrary, although none of the duke's demands had been complied with, except the continuing him in the government of Champaigne, yet by that, the danger of perpetuating the war in thoſe countries was incurred: That it was the king's intereſt to reſerve to himſelf the power of beſtowing the government of Champaigne upon a man who ſhould not be only ſincerely attached to his ſervice, but whoſe integrity likewiſe ſhould be ſo well known, that the rebels in Burgundy might deſpair of ever bringing him to favour their views. With regard to the conveniency of fixing upon Provence for the duke of Guiſe, I added that argument relating to the duke of Epernon, which I have already touched upon. I recalled to the king's remembrance, in a few words, the many occaſions of complaint this man had given him, his repeated revolts, his intrigues to diſengage all the catholics from his majeſty's party, his inſolent boaſt that he would never acknowledge any ſuperior in his government, his laſt proceedings at Villemur, and many other circumſtances which certainly would do no honour to the hiſtory of this imperious ſubject. It was oppoſing one leader of the league by another, whom a thouſand motives, beſides that of his own intereſt, which ought always to be regarded as the moſt powerful, concurred to regulate his conduct by a ſyſtem quite contrary to his former views.

WITHOUT dwelling upon the orders his majeſty had given me with regard to the duke of Guiſe, nor the danger of a longer delay; although the

† The government was afterwards taken from him by cardinal Richlieu; who likewiſe took that of Picardy from the duke d'Elbeuf, and that of Burgundy from the duke de Bellegarde.

treaty

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treaty with him had not been ſo advantageous as it was eaſy to prove it was, I repreſented to the king, that he could not act rigorouſly towards a man, who had ſo ſteadily refuſed all the offers and moſt flattering promiſes from Spain, the dukes of Savoy, and Lorrain, and the other enemies of the ſtate †, to prevail upon him to continue a war, which, however ſhort a time it had laſted, would have been a greater inconvenience to him, than all he had granted to the duke of Guiſe. Nor ought it to be thought a matter of little conſequence (whatever his and my enemies could ſay) to gain over a man whoſe name and birth would always procure him a powerful party. I agree with them, if they pleaſe, that this lord after all, made but an inconſiderable ſacrifice of unjuſt claims, and uncertain expectations; nay, I will reduce it lower, and aſcribe it all to the king's generoſity; yet, if by that means, he bound to his intereſt not a ſingle man only, but a family reſpectable for their alliances, their riches, and influence, it cannot he called an uſeleſs generoſity.

THE king was ſtruck by theſe reaſons, and ſeemed greatly ſurprized at my exact knowledge of Epernon. He did not think it proper to permit this writing to be publiſhed, becauſe of the truths it contained, which it was not yet time to reveal. I ſubmitted, without any difficulty, for I never gave myſelf much trouble about the efforts of envy, having always looked upon that paſſion as an incurable diſeaſe. The duke of Guiſe's whole conduct for the future made a ſtill greater apology for me: he began his government by ſo clear and abſolute a declaration of his ſentiments, that the ſeditious were deprived of all hopes of ever being able to ſeduce him. In all occaſions wherein the king's ſervice, or the good of the ſtate, required his aſſiſtance, he behaved

† The duke of Guiſe was hated by the league, eſpecially ſince the time he had killed with his own hand, in a tumult, the ſieur de St. Paul, his field lieutenant, who was much beloved by them.

with

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with equal firmneſs and prudence. The reduction † of Marſeilles, which was with reaſon thought one of the beſt ſtrokes of that kind, was his work; and with the help of Leſdiguieres, and the counteſs of Sault, he ſo well humbled the haughty Epernon, that he at laſt obliged him to reſtrain his rebellious diſpoſition; and this proud ſubject was ſeen to ſubmit to the king's mercy, and became one of his moſt aſſiduous courtiers.

I NEVER was unwilling to do juſtice to the duke of Epernon, to be among the firſt to enhance the value either of his perſonal ſervices, or thoſe of his ſoldiers at Limoges, Saint-Germain, Ville-bois ‡, Chartres, Boulogne, Montauron, Antibes, and even at Villemur. I am ſorry that the ſubject I treat on neceſſarily engages me in a diſcuſſion which may leſſen the advantageous opinions that have been conceived of him; but, ſince this is a place where nothing ſhould be concealed or diſguiſed, what can, what ought to be thought, of his conduct in Provence?

† This town was upon the point of being delivered up to the king of Spain, by two of its burgeſſes, named Charles Caſault, and Lewis d'Aix; when the duke of Guiſe found means to make himſelf maſter of it, by intelligence held with Peter and Bartholomew Libertat, two brothers, who were alſo burgeſſes of the ſame town. They ſlew Caſault, beat the troops of the Spaniſh ſide, and let in, through the Porte-reale, the duke of Guiſe, who performed this enterprize with a great deal of conduct. See de Thou, b. cxvi. D'Aubigné, tom. III. liv. iv. chap. 12. Henry IV. upon receiving the news of the reduction of Marſeilles, ſaid, "It is now that I am king." In the following campaign, the duke of Guiſe ſhewed a great deal of valour, in purſuing the Spaniards as far as Givry; and killed with his own hand, a trooper belonging to the enemy, who had given him defiance. Henry IV. embracing him, ſpoke theſe words, "Thoſe who find old examples of virtue before them, muſt imitate and repeat them, for "ſuch as come after." P. Matthieu, tom. II. liv. i. p. 192.

‡ See on each of theſe actions, l'Hiſt. de la vie du duc d'Epernon, printed at Paris, ann. 1655. Villebois is a town of Angoumois, which at this day is called la Valette. You may likewiſe conſult the ſame hiſtory, as to the reproaches which our Memoirs give this duke: but he cannot be juſtified in every particular; and even his own hiſtorian looks upon it as impoſſible. All that can be ſaid is, that M. de Sully took pleaſure to aggravate faults, which the laſt years of the duke d'Epernon's life have almoſt entirely effaced.

Cer-

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Certainly, to aſcribe it all to bigotry in his religion, is ſhewing the utmoſt favour to his reputation. His panegyriſts, who ſo loudly extol his moſt inconſiderable actions, ought to be a little more moderate when they reflect on his frequent revolts, and acts of diſobedience; or begin by eſtabliſhing it for a truth, that a ſubject may be irreproachable, yet fail in his duty to his king and his country, introduce diſcord and confuſion to gratify his ambition, and give to violence the name of right. If any panegyrics are to be beſtowed here, doubtleſs it is the king who merits them, who, after all theſe offences, received Epernon with open arms, and never excluded him from favours; which in every reſpect, conſidering his behaviour, were indeed mere favours to him.

AFTER the death of d'O, there appeared among the candidates a man, who, it was immediately thought, would have the poſt of ſuperintendant; this was Nicolas de Sancy †, who wanted neither capacity, nor experience, for that ſtation. Sancy might be very properly called a man of wit, uſing this term in the ſenſe that is generally given it, to denote vivacity, ſubtility, and quickneſs of apprehenſion. But, as it is very ſeldom found, that an excellent judgment is joined to theſe qualities, Sancy ſpoiled them all by a degree of vanity, caprice, and impetuoſity, which ſometimes rendered him inſupportable. It is my opinion of theſe ſtrong and lively imaginations in general, that although they are commonly ſubject to two great faults, which are too much ſubtilty, and too little clearneſs in their ideas, and confuſion and unſteadineſs in their ſchemes, yet they ought not to be thought wholly incapable of buſineſs; becauſe it often happens, that they hit upon expedients which would have eſcaped more cautious and phlegmatic minds: but there is almoſt always occaſion to watch over them, and to correct their errors.

SANCY had long, and uſefully ſerved Henry the

† Nicolas de Harlay de Sancy.

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third, and the reigning king, both in Germany and Switzerland. He had insinuated himself into Henry's favour by great complaisance, a subtle behaviour, a refined art in heightening his pleasure, and by becoming necessary in his affairs of gallantry. Hence it was that he lived with this prince upon terms of the greatest familiarity. That he might neglect nothing by which he thought he should make his court successfully, he inveighed, without ceasing, against the dissipation of the finances; and, as a flatterer generally goes beyond his mark, in railing at the superintendant, he could not help decrying likewise the superintendancy, as an employment ruinous to the state: by which he gave good reason to call his wit in question. But he himself opposed his advancement to this post by an obstacle still greater: he not only neglected to please madam de Liancourt †, then mistress to the king, but also by an intemperance of tongue, to which such persons as he are very subject, he had offended this lady on a very delicate occasion.

I KNOW not whether the story I am going to relate had ever any foundation in truth. However this may be, thus the story ran in Paris: His majesty having sent Alibour, his first physician, to visit madam de Liancourt, who was indisposed (this was in the beginning of his addresses to that lady) at his return he told the king, that she was indeed a little disordered, but that he need not be uneasy, for the consequence would be very good. "But will you "not bleed and purge her?" said the king to him. "I shall be very careful how I do that," replied the old man, with the same simplicity, "before she has "gone half her time." "How!" interrupted the king, astonished and disordered to the last degree:

† This was the fair Gabrielle, who was wife to Nicolas d'Amerval, lord of Liancourt. She was forced by her father, they say, to this marriage, which was not at all to her liking; but Henry IV. knew very well how to hinder the consummation.

"what

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" what is it you say, friend? Surely you rave, and " are not in your right senses." Alibour supported his assertion with good proofs, which the king thought he should destroy, by telling him upon what terms he was with the lady. " I know not what " you have done, or what you have not done," replied the old physician with great composure; and for a complete proof referred him to four or five months from that time. The king quitted Alibour with great rage, and went immediately to reproach the sick fair one, who, no doubt, knew well enough how to new dress all the good man had ignorantly said; for it was not perceived that any misunderstanding happened between the king and his mistress. It is certain, however, that the event was exactly conformable to Alibour's prediction: but it was thought that Henry, after a more strict examination, was brought to believe that he had been mistaken in his reckoning, since, instead of disowning the child which madam de Liancourt lay in of at Coucy, during the siege of Laon, he acknowledged it openly, and had it baptized by the name of Cæsar.

SANCY gave free scope to his wit, in relating this story; and did not forget the circumstance of * La-Regnardiere, who, having one day, as he said, taken the liberty to inform his majesty of some things that did not please him, was soon after banished the court, under pretence that he had quarrelled with the admiral ‡. Sancy found something to say upon the

* " La-Regnardiere was a kind of buffoon, half soldier, half law-" yer, and half gentleman, who said whatever came uppermost." It is in this manner he is spoken of in the adventures of the baron de Fœneste, liv. iv. ch. 7. where we find many more stories related of him.

‡ The Journal de l'Etoile, and the Confession of Sancy, confirm all this pleasantry, as also the suspicion of its ending tragically for old M. Alibour, the king's first physician, who was poisoned, they say, by order of the king's mistress: but all this is alledged without any proof. You may also read, on this head, what Sauval has told on the faith of public report, and satyrical libels, touching the intrigues between the fair Gabrielle, and the duke de Bellegarde.

death

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death of the good man Alibour, and would have thought it more natural, if it had not happened before the accompliſhment of his prediction. If he commented thus upon the birth of the ſon, he did no leſs upon the whole conduct of the mother. Sancy proved, to his coſt, what the malice of a woman, eſpecially a king's miſtreſs, is capable of doing: Henry loved him, and wanted to raiſe him; and although he was inclined to ſuppreſs the poſt of ſuperintendant of the finances, yet he would have preſerved it, merely to have beſtowed it upon him; but madam de Liancourt knew how to prevent it.

INSTEAD of a ſuperintendant of the finances, his majeſty compoſed a council conſiſting of eight perſons; theſe were, the chancellor de Chiverny, the duke de Retz, meſſieurs de Belliévre (who was ſucceeded by Matignon) de Schomberg, de Maiſſe, de Freſne (protected by madam de Liancourt) de la Grange-le-roi, and de Sancy, who thought himſelf very happy to be one of the members § of this body. The king judged it neceſſary to give this council, for form's ſake only, and without any diſtinction, a titular head, which was the duke of Nevers. This form of government of the finances laſted ſome time, although with a few inconſiderable alterations, which I ſhall mention in their place: for the reader may expect in theſe Memoirs to ſee whatever relates to the finances treated with all that clearneſs and extent which a man, who has ſo long made them his ſtudy and employment, is capable of giving them.

THE king was convinced, in the ſequel, that this

§ M. de Thou and Perefixe ſay, that M. de Sancy was for ſome time ſuperintendant before M. de Roſny: which ought not to be underſtood, in my opinion, but only of the authority which he aſſumed of himſelf among his fellow counſellors, as M. de Sully tells us afterwards. The writers of that time agree, that nothing of certainty can be ſaid as to the ſtate of the council of the finances, till the time in which M. de Roſny was at leaſt declared the chief. We run no riſque in believing all he ſays on the head of the finances.

new

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new change in the council * was far from affording that remedy the deceaſe required: ſmall as my experience was in theſe affairs, I eaſily comprehended it. It is not the government of one man only by which the finances are thrown into confuſion; ſince it is an inconteſtible truth, that, as they muſt paſs through ſome hands, the fewer that are employed, the leſs will be embezzled. The abuſe lies in the choice of this man, and in the nature of the finances: and therefore, to have this office diſcharged by many different perſons, is to perpetuate the evil. If, in the whole kingdom, it is difficult to find one ſingle man fit for ſuch an employment, how can it be expected that a great number will be met with? Nor is the miſtake leſs palpable in imagining that all theſe perſons bringing each of them one diſtinguiſhed good quality into their employments, the ſame effect will be produced as from a man who unites them all in himſelf; ſince that is to ſuppoſe, that this ſingle good quality cannot poſſibly be rendered uſeleſs by the oppoſition of ſeveral bad ones, either in himſelf or his aſſociates. In general, the predominant principle with which thoſe perſons who are inveſted with public employments enter upon the execution of them, is to raiſe and enrich themſelves and their relations. If this eager deſire of riches is not felt by them at firſt, it is inſpired, increaſed, and ſtimulated, by the great ſums of money that paſs through their hands: amidſt that dependence on, and mutual fear of, each other, every one repreſents to himſelf integrity as a quality not only uſeleſs, but hurtful to him, the honour of which is ſhared by his collegues, the inconvenience wholly his own. The king was far from being fortunate in his choice of the members of this body: ſeveral of thoſe who compoſed it, beſides being of a malignant diſpoſition, were in a

† Perefixe talks of this new form of the council of the finances, as M. de Roſny, ann. 1598, p. 224.

ſituation

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ſituation that expoſed them to corruption: they had debts to pay, and domeſtic wants to ſupply.

His majeſty deſtined me a place in it, and had, for a long time, in his converſations with me, expreſſed his deſire, that I would make myſelf thoroughly acquainted with whatever regarded the finances: but I could not poſſibly ſubmit to the imperious behaviour of the duke of Nevers, who very unſeaſonably aſſumed great conſequence to himſelf from his quality of prince, in a place where it ſignified very little. One day, when his inſolence had exhauſted all my patience, I took the liberty to intreat he would remember that the family of Bethune was in poſſeſſion of the earldom of Nevers before the family of Gonzague. A man ſwoln with the pride of anceſtry could not poſſibly receive a more ſevere mortification. He often repeated to thoſe who would hear him, that my whole family were huguenots; and, to anſwer my anecdote with another, ſaid, that he had ſeen my grandfather make a very mean figure at Nevers. I ſuffered him to have his revenge, which could extend no farther than keeping me out of a council where I had very little inclination to be with him: and this ſatisfaction he had. The king, who had many meaſures to keep, told me, in a very obliging manner, that he was under a neceſſity of deferring ſome time longer the proof he intended to give me of his friendſhip: and I waited for it without murmuring, ſatisfied with the poſt of ſecretary of ſtate, with a ſalary of two thouſand livres a year, and a penſion of three thouſand ſix hundred more, which the king beſtowed upon me.

Persons of the leaſt diſcernment being convinced of the neceſſity there was to introduce a reformation into the finances, the new council were at firſt deſirous of this honour; and a ſcheme for that purpoſe was propoſed by thoſe amongſt them who moſt valued themſelves for their penetration and method. Theſe were Freſne and La-Grange-le-roi. But af-

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ter they had produced a very large volume upon this affair, it happened with that, as with the moſt part of ſyſtems that have been or may be invented; nothing more eaſy in ſpeculation, in practice nothing more difficult: and the king, whom they had flattered with mighty hopes, found every thing in the ſame condition as before, at the end of the year which he had paſſed at Paris, expecting daily the effect of their promiſes.

He was retained there to more purpoſe by the treaty with Lorrain, which, entirely forſaking Spain, concluded a league offenſive and defenſive with France. Sancy's ſervices were of great uſe in this treaty: and to him almoſt all the honour of it was due. The king was no longer at a loſs for employment, after the duke of Bouillon arrived at Paris: he came in perſon to preſs the execution of thoſe ſchemes he had entertained me with at Sedan, particularly a declaration of war againſt Spain, which he made the baſis of his advancement in the Low Countries. He uſed ſuch plauſible arguments for it, that, after the example of the courtiers †, he did not ſcruple to propoſe it in full council. He found there two different parties who did not approve of this war: thoſe in whom a rooted attachment to Spain and the league ſtill remained, and they were not few in number; and thoſe who thought a war, in the preſent weak and exhauſted ſtate of the kingdom,

† M. de Thou makes no doubt but the duke de Bouillon was the principal author of this war: and his hiſtorian entirely agrees, that in giving this counſel he far leſs conſulted the advantage of the ſtate, and the glory of the king, than his own perſonal intereſt, and that of the calviniſtical party, who neceſſarily wanted a war, in order to obtain the favourable terms which were granted them by the edict of Nantz. Notwithſtanding the reaſons for declaring war againſt Spain, of which a minute detail may be ſeen in MSS. de la Bibliot. de Roi, vol. marked 8955, and in the king's declaration, that is ſet down in tom. VI. of the Memoirs de la Ligue: all good writers and judicious perſons are unanimouſly of one voice, in favour of the duke de Sully's opinion as to the precipitation and imprudence with which Henry IV. conducted himſelf in this affair, the conſequences of which might have been a good deal more fatal than they were.

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was very unſeaſonable. Theſe laſt had few partiſans, but ſtrong reaſons on their ſide, if any one would have liſtened to them.

I WOULD not incur the reproach of ſilence upon this occaſion. I uſed every argument my reaſon could ſuggeſt, to diſſuade the king from this war: but this prince, whom a natural propenſity drew always a little to that ſide, thought he had now found the opportunity he ſought for, to revenge himſelf upon a neighbour who had made it his endeavour to maintain the flame which conſumed the heart of his kingdom. He was ſure of troops from Lorrain: England and Holland, by their ambaſſadors, gave hopes of a powerful diverſion: and, according to the duke of Bouillon, a ſingle word from him was ſufficient to make all Luxembourg ſurrender: Sancy made great promiſes in behalf of the Thirteen Cantons: all Franche-Compté lay open to their ravages. The king was determined by all theſe flattering appearances; and in January, the following year, war was declared in form againſt Spain.

THAT kingdom ſeemed to give herſelf very little trouble about this proceeding; and anſwered only by ſhewing great contempt for Henry's council, and for Henry himſelf, to whom ſhe gave no other title than that of prince of Bearn. While ſhe made preparations to defend herſelf, her emiſſaries in France endeavoured to ſpare her the trouble, by an attempt ſo horrid, that it is ſcarce credible ſhe could have recourſe to it.

ON the 26th of December, the king being then at Paris, in his apartments in the Louvre *, where

* According to others, in the chamber of the marchioneſs de Monceaux, at the hotel de Schomberg, behind the Louvre: but, in fact, it was neither at the Louvre, nor at the hotel de Schomberg, that this affair happened. A regiſter belonging to the town-houſe at Paris, quoted by Piganiolle, tom. II. de la Deſcription de Paris, ſays, that the fair Gabrielle reſided, in 1595, at the hotel d'Eſtrées; and that it was at this place Henry IV. was wounded. This hotel was afterwards called l'hotel du Bouchage; and was purchaſed in 1616, by monſieur

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he gave audience to meſſieurs de Ragny and de Montigny ‖, who entered with a great number of other perſons: at the very moment when he ſtooped to embrace one of them, he received a wound in the face with a knife, which the murderer let fall as he was endeavouring to eſcape through the croud ‡. I was preſent, and approached in an agony of grief, ſeeing the king all covered with blood, and fearing, with reaſon, that the ſtroke was mortal. The king removed our apprehenſions by a compoſed and agreeable behaviour; and we perceived immediately that his lip only was wounded; the ſtroke having been aimed too high, the force of it was ſtopped by a tooth, which it broke.

THE parricide was diſcovered, without any difficulty, though he had mixed among the croud. He was a ſcholar, named John Chatel; and readily anſwered, when he was interrogated, that he came from the college of the jeſuits, accuſing thoſe fathers with being the authors of his crime †. The king, who

monſieur de Berulle, in order to lodge and accommodate the fathers of the oratory, who ſtill continued there.

‖ Francis de la Magdelaine de Ragny. Francis de La-Grange de Montigny.

‡ "Immediately the king, who found himſelf wounded, looking "round him, and ſeeing Mathurine, his fool, ſaid, *The deuce take the* "*fool: ſhe has wounded me.* But, ſhe denying it, ran directly to ſhut "the door, whereby ſhe was the occaſion of preventing the aſſaſſin "from making his eſcape; who, upon being ſeized, and afterwards "ſearched, dropped his knife, which was all over bloody." Thus l'Etoile ſpeaks of it. The MSS. de la Bibl. du Roy ſay quite otherwiſe in vol. 9033, namely, "that the king, finding himſelf wounded, "ſpoke thus to one of thoſe two gentlemen, *Ah, couſin! you have* "*wounded me:* and that he thereupon, throwing himſelf at his ma-"jeſty's feet, replied, God forbid, ſire, that I ſhould entertain even a "thought of hurting or wounding your majeſty: I have no weapon "about me but the ſword by my ſide." M. de Thou ſays, that the count of Soiſſons ſeizing the aſſaſſin, ſpoke aloud to him, that it was one of them two had given the blow; and that the poignard was perceived to lie at his feet glittering by the light of the candles. Lib. iii.

† When the matter relates to any perſonal reflections, or ſuch as are thrown upon a whole body of men, I think myſelf particularly obliged to call to mind the obſervation I made, in the preface of this work,

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heard him, ſaid, with a gaiety, which on ſuch an occaſion few perſons could have been capable of, that he had heard from the mouths of many perſons, that the ſociety never loved him, and he was now convinced of it by his own. Chatel was delivered up

work, that the Memoirs of M. de Sully are not only compoſed of authentic and original pieces, that ſhould make them be looked upon as deſerving all the credit that is commonly paid to great authors, and moreover as the real production of M. de Sully; ſuch as letters, particular memoirs, converſations, reflections, &c. but that likewiſe they are interwoven with recitals that may well be aſcribed ſolely to ſuch as have collected and compoſed thoſe pieces, upon the authority of which there is not ſo much ſtreſs to be laid. Now it is in theſe narrations that I find a great number of the facts and reflections againſt the jeſuits, which ought not to be admitted without authentic and ſolid proof. Thus we ſhall find ſomewhat mentioned, that is contrary to the tenor of our Memoirs with regard to the affair of Chatel, in thoſe that ſerve for the Univerſal Hiſtory of Europe, tom. I. p. 110, &c. And if more deference ought to be paid to the teſtimony of contemporary writers, "Chatel," ſays l'Etoile, in his journal ſur l'ann. 1595, "was interrogated the 28th; and, by his own anſwers, "he quite cleared the jeſuits of any imputation, and even father "Gueret, his preceptor: he ſaid that he had undertaken to ſtrike the "blow of his own proper motion," &c. In fact, when this parricide gave it, he had been ſeven months gone from the college, and had finiſhed his ſtudies. This authority of l'Etoile's, which is not ſuſpected, is corroborated by that of the royal MS. which I have juſt now quoted, as alſo by de Thou and Matthieu, tom. II. liv. i. p. 183. by Cayet, liv. vi. p. 432. and the Memoirs of the league. According to all theſe writers, Chatel declared, it is true, that he had ſtudied with the jeſuits, and that by their doctrine it is lawful to kill kings; as it is taught in the writings of father Guignard, library-keeper of the college of Clermont, whom they went to ſeize directly: but at the ſame time he formally cleared both his profeſſor and all the jeſuits of having ever adviſed him to aſſaſſinate the king, and even of their having had, any more than his confeſſor, the leaſt knowledge of his deſign; though, according to l'Etoile, Lugoly, lieutenant of the Marſhalſea, had diſguiſed himſelf like a confeſſor, on purpoſe to pump the ſecret from Chatel. For which reaſon M. de Sully and M. d'Aubigné are very much in the wrong, to give occaſion for concluding, by the manner in which both the one and the other expreſs themſelves, that the jeſuits puſhed on Chatel to this aſſaſſination. Father de Chalons expreſſes himſelf pretty ambiguouſly, when he ſays, in tom. III. of his Hiſtory of France, p. 245, that Chatel avowed, upon his interrogatories, "that the principles and diſcourſes of the jeſuits had led "him to this criminal action." Yet, however, one perceives that the ſenſe of theſe words is very different from the preceding.

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to juſtice †; and the proſecutions againſt the jeſuits, which had been ſuſpended, were now reſumed more vigorous than before, and terminated by the baniſhment of the whole order ‡ from the kingdom. Father John Guignard || was hanged for his pernicious doctrines againſt the authority and life of kings:

† "After having been put to the ordinary and extraordinary trial "upon the rack, which he endured without making any confeſſion, "and having made the *amende honorable*, his hand was cut off, holding "in it the murderous knife with which he intended to kill the king; "then his fleſh was torn off with red-hot pincers, and he was drawn "between four horſes in the Place de Gréve; his body and members "caſt into the fire, and burnt to aſhes, and the aſhes thrown into the "air. The ſieur Chatel, the father of the parricide, was baniſhed "France for nine years, and for ever from the precincts and juriſdic-"tion of Paris, condemned to pay a fine of four thouſand crowns, his "houſe razed, and inſtead thereof a pyramid erected, containing the "whole ſtory of the fact." L'Etoile, ibid. It is thought that the little ſquare that lies before the Barnabites, is the ſpot on which Chatel's houſe ſtood.

‡ "The jeſuits, in obedience to the arret againſt them, departed "Paris, conducted by a ſerjeant of the court: they were thirty-ſe-"ven in number, part of whom were put into three carts, and the reſt "travelled on foot; their procurator being mounted on a little nag," &c. L'Etoile, ibid.

|| Father Guignard did not teach the pernicious doctrine of which they accuſed him, at the time of Chatel's affair. He might have propagated it during the fury of the league, as the Sorbonne themſelves had done, together with a great number of other prieſts and religious. If we judge by the pieces belonging to the proceſs of this father, we muſt agree, 1. That if he had written and ſpoke in favour of the league, this crime was forgiven him, ſeeing an amneſty had been granted to all thoſe concerned in it. 2. That he underwent the rigour of the law, for only preſerving ſome writings and books that favoured this party. Upon which father Daniel, in his Hiſtoire de France, in fol. tom. III. p. 1706, remarks, that if a proceſs had been entered againſt all who were in the like caſe, there muſt have been a neceſſity to condemn capitally the greateſt part of the prieſts and religious, who had the care of any cabinets of rarities and of libraries, where the like writings were kept, and where they are preſerved down to our time. "He ſaid that he died innocent, exhorted the "people to the fear of God, and obedience to the king: he even "prayed aloud for his majeſty, and begged of the people not lightly "and precipitately to give credit to the falſe reports which were in-"duſtriouſly propagated concerning them; that they were not aſ-"ſaſſins of kings; and that the jeſuits had never procured or ap-"proved of the death of any king whatſoever," &c. Mem. de l'Etoile, ibid. He would not make the *amende honorable* to the king, alledging that he had not offended him. Cayet, ibid.

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John Gueret §, Peter Varade, Alexander Mayus, Francis Jacob, and Jon Le-Bel, other members of the ſociety, ſuſpected of being his accomplices, were obliged to make the *amende honorable*, and condemned to perpetual baniſhment.

THIS attempt confirmed the king in his reſolution to purſue the war with Spain. He drew a favourable augury for his future ſucceſs from the advantage he gained in the firſt acts of hoſtility. As ſoon as the treaty between France and Lorrain was concluded, the latter immediately, and without ſolicitation, diſperſed the troops over Burgundy, under the conduct of Tremblecourt † and Saint George, and carried terror into every part of that province. On the other ſide, the garriſon of Soiſſons, a place abſolutely devoted to the league, commanded by Conan and Bellefond ‡, was almoſt wholly cut off by Mouſſy ‖,

§ Here the author is miſtaken. John Gueret was, by an expreſs arret, condemned to perpetual baniſhment; but there is no expreſs mention made of Peter Verade, Alexander Mayus, &c. who were comprized with all the reſt, and without being particularly named in the arret, which proſcribed in general the whole ſociety. It is a glaring calumny in Moriſot, to have advanced, chap. 33. that Francis Jacob, to whom they had told that Henry IV. was juſt aſſaſſinated by Chatel, boaſted that he would have diſpatched this prince, if he had not been prevented by Chatel. I know of no hiſtorian that has ſaid any ſuch thing.

It is another calumny of an equally black nature, to have endeavoured to make the jeſuits paſs for the authors of a piece intitled, *Apologie de Jean Chatel:* a trifling performance, and at the ſame time, deteſtable on account of the abuſe therein made of divine and human laws, and even of the holy ſcriptures. They at that time cleared their innocence in this reſpect; and according to the ſame hiſtorian, F. Matthieu, they were ſtill more juſtified by the avowal of the true author of this piece, namely, John Boucher, the ſame prieſt whoſe name all the hiſtories have rendered ſo odious. With this piece, which never ought to have ſeen the light, an account of Chatel's proceſs has juſt been publiſhed, extracted not only from a MS. in the king's library, of which we have ſpoke, but from acts of parliament.

†---D'Auſſonville, ſieur de St. George, and Lewis de Beauvau, ſieur de Tremblecourt, both gentlemen of Lorrain.

‡ Bernardine Gigaul de Bellefonde.

‖ On the 15th of February, in the plains de Villers Coterets in Valloiſis. The baron de Conan is called Conas or Conac, in M. de Thou: and inſtead of Bayes, you muſt read it Beyne.

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d'Edouville, de Bayes, and Gadancourt the lieutenant of my company. The duke of Montmorency §, to prove himself worthy of the dignity of constable, which he had lately been invested with, fell upon Dauphiny, the Lionnois, and Bresse, with a body of four thousand foot, and four hundred well disciplined horse; drove out from those places the remainder of the troops belonging to the dukes of Savoy and Nemours, took Vienne by composition from Dizimieux, who was governor of it for the duke of Nemours, and afterwards Montluel. Marechal Biron, after the expedition at Beaune, made himself master of Nuys, Autun, and Dijon ‖. The duke of Bouillon, as soon as war was proclaimed, entered Luxembourg, where, with the assistance of count Philip of Nassau, he defeated eight or ten parties of horse, under the command of Mansfield.

HENRY did not doubt but that, by uniting all these separate bodies into one army, he should make whatever province he conducted it into tremble. It is certain that if he did this, he could not make a stand every where as before; but the expectations his majesty formed from his first project, made him resolve to prefer it. Having the choice of entering Picardy, Champaigne, or Burgundy, he determined upon the last, where messieurs de Montmorency, Biron, and Sancy, gave him hopes of great success. Their secret motives for calling him thither were these.

THE constable Montmorency had been alarmed by the great preparations he saw made by Spain in Lombardy, where the constable of Castile had orders to quit the Milanese, however necessary his presence might be in that country, to enter France, and make some bold attempt there, after he should be joined

§ Henry the second son of the constable Anne de Montmorency, who was made constable in the year 1593.

‖ See all these different expeditions into Burgundy, in de Thou and d'Aubigné, ann. 1595.

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by the count de Fuentes, general of the Spaniſh troops in the Netherlands. Montmorency therefore apprehended that all theſe troops would fall upon him. Mareehal Biron, who was in the ſame quarters, where, after ſeizing the city of Dijon, he had attacked the caſtle of it, and that of Talan, both of great ſtrength, was afraid, likewiſe, that he ſhould be obliged to raiſe the ſiege if he was not aſſiſted.

As to Sancy, his views were to advance his own reputation by the conqueſt of Franche-Comté, to which he was inceſſantly endeavouring to perſuade the king. Convinced by his own experience of madam de Liancourt's power, he ſought to make her approve this project: but the terms he was upon with this lady not permitting him to propoſe it to her himſelf, he concealed his own intereſt in the affair, and made uſe of the interpoſition of others. He cauſed it to be hinted to the chancellor de Chiverny, and, by his means, to a lady who could not fail of making her court by it to madam de Liancourt, that the king might eaſily provide a noble inheritance for her ſon Cæſar, by driving out the Spaniards from Franche-Comté, and giving him the poſſeſſion of it, under the ſovereignty of the Thirteen Cantons, who would be induced by their own intereſt to favour the attempt. Madam de Liancourt, I am perſuaded, could not flatter herſelf with the hope of gaining the king's conſent to ſo ridiculous a ſcheme; and durſt not even communicate it to him, though this prince's paſſion † for her was ſo great, that he ſuffered no one to be ignorant of it: but there needed no more to make him reſolve upon a journey to Burgundy, than this lady's joining herſelf to thoſe who adviſed him to it. Such is a court, and thus are kings

† "He went through Paris, having this lady by his ſide; he took "her with him to hunt, and careſſed her before all the world." Journ. de l'Etoile, ibid. And we may judge of the attachment of Henry IV. to this lady, from the letters he writ to her: which ſee in the collection newly printed.

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impoſed upon: from whence they may learn, that, whatever ideas they may have conceived of the wiſdom and abilities of their miniſters, to judge truly of every tranſaction it is the ſureſt way to ſtudy carefully the ſecret inclinations, intereſt, and diſpoſitions of thoſe who are neareſt to their perſons.

To remedy, in ſome meaſure, the inconveniencies which might ariſe from leaving the frontiers of Picardy expoſed to the inroads of the Spaniſh troops that were in Flanders, the king, who was not, like others, impoſed upon by the great promiſes that England and Holland made him, left meſſieurs de Nevers, de Bouillon, de Villars, and de St. Paul †, upon this frontier, with each a detachment under their command; enjoining them to aſſiſt each other upon occaſion, and above all recommending a good intelligence amongſt themſelves. In caſe of a reunion, the duke of Nevers was appointed to command in chief. He provided with the ſame wiſdom and foreſight for the affairs at home, by eſtabliſhing a council, which, beſides the finances, was to take cognizance of all the treaties that were made with the provinces, cities, and governors; of all affairs relating to war; and of the adminiſtration of juſtice throughout the kingdom.

As ſoon as his majeſty had publicly explained himſelf with regard to the forming this council, the count of Soiſſons wiſhed to be made preſident of it; and began to inſinuate ſomething to that purpoſe in the king's preſence. That I might remove his reſentment againſt me for traverſing his marriage, I ſolicited this title for him, which was more honourable than effective, and in all appearance would be of ſhort duration: but the king, whoſe averſion for the count increaſed every day, had already fixed upon the prince of Conti, and at dinner declared his purpoſe before the whole cout. Then turning to the

† Francis d'Orleans, count de St. Paul, governor of Provence.

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count of Soiſſons, he told him, that, knowing his diſpoſition to be turned wholly towards war, he would keep him about his perſon this campaign; and ordered him to get his company of gendarmes in readineſs to attend him. The prince of Conti anſwered only with a profound bow, becauſe he expreſſed himſelf with difficulty; and the count of Soiſſons did the ſame, becauſe anger hindered him from ſpeaking: all his majeſty ſaid to him being accompanied with praiſes of his valour, and an air of diſtinction which forced him to appear ſatisfied.

THE members of the new council were almoſt all the ſame that had compoſed the former; to which were added three intendants, Heudicourt, Marcel, and Guibert: the number was afterwards augmented to eight, by joining to thoſe three, Incarville, Des-Barreaux, Atichy, Santeny, and Vienne, and a ſecretary named Meillant. Although the duke of Nevers was not now in the council, the king found no leſs difficulty in procuring me a place in this than in the former. He was afraid to propoſe it at firſt, on account of the catholicks, who could not ſuffer a proteſtant in power: but he broke through this obſtacle three days afterwards; and the reaſon he gave for it to the other counſellors was, that the confidence which the prince of Conti had in me, rendered my aſſociation neceſſary even to themſelves.

THE road his majeſty was to take being through Moret, I attended him ſo far, not ſo much to receive him there, ſince madam de Roſny could have done that without me, as to have an opportunity of conferring privately with this prince, and to receive his laſt inſtructions concerning affairs that might in his abſence be brought before the council, the members whereof did not long continue in a ſtate of friendſhip. My collegues, perceiving by the private diſpatches I received from the king, that I was in poſſeſſion of his confidence, entered, through jealouſy, into a combination againſt me, looking upon me as one

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who

who would carry away all the honour of every meritorious act that was performed by the council. They sought to disgust me, or to force me to silence, by joining in a constant opposition to all I said; but finding that, notwithstanding this behaviour, I still persisted to take my own measures, they had recourse to another stratagem, and in our assemblies every affair was discussed but what related to the finances, which was referred to private meetings, either at the chancellor's or at Sancy's; and there all was regulated without my participation. I did not dissemble my thoughts of this collusion, but declared to them, that I had no desire to mix in their debates; and, instead of signing their decrees, protested against them, and retired to Moret The members of the council, who could not even invent any pretence for the disgust they gave me, being afraid of his majesty's reproaches, prevailed upon the prince of Conti himself to intreat me to return. Being always naturally incapable of flattery, or of disguising my sentiments, I replied, that since they did not rectify the abuses which had been introduced into the finances, although they were sufficiently acquainted with them, I would at least avoid the reproach of following their conduct, and would stay at Moret, rather than be a witness of faults which I saw committed with impunity.

The king, whom I informed of what had happened to me, found so much conformity between his situation and mine, that he thought he could not console me more effectually, than by complaining to me in his turn. He had indeed most ungovernable spirits to deal with. The count of Soissons, who had followed him with reluctance, revenged himself by repeated instances of his caprice and ill humour. But not all his endeavours could induce the king, however greatly he was offended, to order him to retire; which was the point he wished to bring him to: and he was at last obliged to go of his

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own accord, upon a pretence ſo very trifling, that it had ſcarcely the appearance of one. A report being ſpread that the conſtable of Caſtile was approaching, the king ordered the conſtable de Montmorency, and marechal Biron, to bring up the two bodies of troops which they commanded: the count of Soiſſons alledged that, by his poſt of high-ſteward of the king's houſhold, he had a right to the chief command of theſe troops in his majeſty's abſence, and aſſerted his claim to it in his preſence. The king did not think proper even to requeſt a favour of this nature from the conſtable, and the marechal; and uſed his utmoſt endeavours to baniſh ſo ridiculous a notion from the count's mind. He ſolicited, he intreated him, as he would have done his ſon or brother (theſe were his majeſty's own words) but in vain: the count, who did not err through ignorance, quitted him with a diſſembled diſcontent, and prevailed upon part of the ſoldiers under his command to do the like. The king immediately diſpatched letters to his council, to take proper meaſures upon the count's flight: the ſame meſſenger left one for me as he paſſed by Moret. Henry did not yet know that I had retired thither; but we had agreed upon this expedient to conceal from my enemies the correſpondence I had with his majeſty.

THREE or four days after the receipt of this letter, my ſervants informed me that ſome ſoldiers were juſt arrived, who inſiſted upon quartering at Saint-Mamert, a village upon the confluence of the Seine and the Loin, dependent upon Moret, and diſtant from it about a quarter of a league. I ſent Camord to bring me intelligence who they were, and what was their deſign. They not only neglected to ſend me, by this gentleman, the uſual compliments upon theſe occaſions, but likewiſe anſwered him inſolently, that they had a right to quarter in any place where their horſes began to be fatigued, and all that could be required of them was to do no miſchief. They refuſed

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refuſed to name their captains, and only ſaid that they belonged to the count of Soiſſons. That I might leave theſe officers no excuſe for their rudeneſs, I wrote to them a ſecond time, telling them that, ſince they belonged to the count of Soiſſons, who honoured me with his friendſhip, they were welcome to quarter at Moret; that I would provide them lodgings in the inns and houſes of the town's people, where they would have greater conveniency; and juſt hinted to them that I was ſenſible of the manner in which they had received my deputy. Camord, whom I would have ſent with this ſecond meſſage, told me, that it would have no other effect than to increaſe the inſolence of theſe officers, who came with a premeditated deſign to affront me, which he confirmed by ſeveral other circumſtances of his reception, that he had concealed from me before, to avoid a greater misfortune. Madam de Roſny, who was preſent at this relation, began to give way to female fears; and accuſing Camord with imprudence, ſaid ſhe had rather that the whole village of Saint-Mamert was laid in ruins, than ſee me, for ſo ſlight an occaſion, at variance with the count, and expoſed to a conteſt with his officers.

I OBLIGED my wife to be ſilent; and after arreſting five or ſix of the troopers, who came to get their equipages mended at Moret, and to purchaſe proviſions, I again ſent Camord to thoſe inſolent officers. They received him ſtill worſe than before, and hardly forbore laying hands on him; mingling great threatning with their complaints for the detention of their ſoldiers. It was no longer poſſible to diſſemble: and all that now remained to be done, was to aſſert my authority, yet with all imaginable moderation. I ordered twelve other troopers, who had juſt entered Moret, to be arreſted; and in two hours time aſſembled an hundred and fifty arquebuſiers, thirty horſe, and thirty foot ſoldiers; with whom I marched to Saint-Mamert, by the road that

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leads to it by land, and which has a thick ſhade of trees on each ſide; while the reſt of my troop purſued the ſame rout upon the river, in a flat boat covered with planks, and arrived at the ſame time with me under the houſes of the village ſituated near the river. The count of Soiſſons' party, ſeeing this double eſcort, detached ſome of their men to aſk me what I meant by it? "Nothing, replied I calmly, but that "this village belonging to me, I come to quarter my "ſoldiers here." The officers by theſe words underſtood that I was not diſpoſed to yield to them; and ſent again to make excuſes for what had happened, telling me that they had no deſign to quarter in any place belonging to me, without my permiſſion; which the count of Soiſſons would never pardon them for. In effect, they paid for what proviſions they had bought, and remounted their horſes, without even demanding the priſoners, whom I ſent after them as ſoon as they had reached Dormeilles. They thanked me, and offered me their ſervice, which entirely removed my anger. I ſent the officers a dozen bottles of wine and two pies; after which I mounted my horſe, to go, in obedience to his majeſty's order, to conſult with the prince of Conti upon the meaſures neceſſary to be taken with regard to the count of Soiſſons' deſertion.

THIS misfortune was very inconſiderable, compared to that which happened in Picardy. The jealouſy of command created a miſunderſtanding between the duke of Nevers and the duke of Bouillon. The counts of Fuentes and Roſne, who commanded the Spaniſh troops, and were doubtleſs informed of it, took advantage of their diviſion, and laid ſiege to Catelet and Capelle. The firſt of theſe two places wanted proviſions and ammunition; and the ſecond had a diſhonourable governor: but the loſs of them was chiefly occaſioned by the two French generals †,

† Brantome juſtifies the duke de Nevers concerning the defeat the French met with at Doullens; and obſerves that he advanced

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who, through hatred of each other, neglected to give them any aſſiſtance.

THINGS were in this ſtate, when the governor of Ham, a place belonging to the Spaniards, being diſcontented with his garriſon, reſolved to deliver up the caſtle of Ham to the king, which would neceſſarily include the ſurrender of the city. He addreſſed himſelf to the duke of Longueville, and intreated him to ſend him a powerful aſſiſtance, having a very numerous garriſon to oppoſe. The duke of Longueville acquainted his general officers, and the duke of Bouillon in particular, with the affair, who promiſed him a ſpeedy ſupply. Upon this aſſurance, the duke of Longueville, that he might not by delay loſe ſo favourable an opportunity, haſtened immediately to Ham with d'Humieres ‡, followed by ſome Picardine troops, and threw part of them into the caſtle, and part in the adjacent places, endeavouring to reduce the city by ſcaling and petarding. The enemy's garriſon defended themſelves like lions, and repulſed them ſeveral times; and probably a fiercer action of this kind never happened. At length, the French, animated by the bravery of their leaders, who found that it was in vain to expect any aſſiſtance from the duke of Bouillon, attacked the trench next the caſtle, carried it, and entered the city. The Spaniſh garriſon received them there with great intrepidity: being forced to give ground, they rallied again ſeveral times, and many little battles were fought in the ſquares, croſs ways, and even in the houſes; till they were all, to the number of a thouſand or twelve hundred men, cut in pieces. But the French bought this advantage very dear; they loſt thirty of their beſt officers, among whom were du * Cluſeau and la Croix, and d'Humieres ‖ himſelf, the beſt and braveſt officer in all Picardy.

by long marches, and that he ordered them to wait for him; but the other commanders did not think proper to do ſo. Tom. III. p. 268.

‡ Charles lord of Humieres. * N. Blancard du Cluſeau.

‖ Nothing can be added to the eulogium which M. de Thou gives

MESSIEURS de Saint-Paul, de Bouillon, and Villars, thought they could not better employ their troops, during this interval, than by raising the siege of Dourlens, which had been attacked by Fuentes and Rosne, after the taking of Catelet and Capelle. The duke of Bouillon brought four hundred horse, Villars as many, and Saint-Paul five hundred; and their infantry consisted in all, of two thousand men, which they determined to throw into the city, if they failed of driving the besiegers from before it.

ABOUT half a league from Dourlens, Bouillon having sent fifty of his troop five hundred paces before him, to gain the summit of a mountain, from whence they might have a full view of the city and the camp of the besiegers, four of their horses, who preceded the others, perceived a body of the enemy coming directly towards them, between the camp and the hill. This was, in effect, their whole army, in order of battle, which had got intelligence of our design. But these four troopers being hindered by their fear from making a perfect discovery, made a false report to the duke of Bouillon, who, supposing it to be only a detachment, hastened his march with his squadron. Arriving at the top of the hill, he plainly saw his mistake. One party of one hundred horse, preceded two squadrons of six hundred each, which followed at the distance of about a thousand paces, and were supported by three other squadrons, consisting of an equal number, and a body of seven or eight thousand foot. The hundred horse, perceiving Bouillon, galloped towards him, followed at a great pace by the two first squadrons, all armed cap-a-pie, and lances by their sides; which left him no room to doubt but that the French were discovered, and that they would be obliged to engage, notwithstanding the inequality of their numbers, the Spa-

this gentleman; he says book cxii. that the king and the whole kingdom lamented him: his life and illustrious actions fill the 893oth vol. of MSS. de la Bibliot. de Roi.

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niards being ſtronger by two-thirds than they, unleſs he could conceal from them his little party.

Bouillon, ſending a gentleman to the admiral, to deſire he would come immediately to his aſſiſtance; Villars, who was bravery itſelf, without anſwering a ſingle word, armed himſelf in the midſt of his troopers, and making them put their helmets on, exhorted them no otherwiſe than by bidding them follow him; and Bouillon ſaw him in an inſtant at his ſide. Finding him in ſuch a good diſpoſition, he told him, that to prevent the enemy from diſcovering their rear, it was neceſſary to charge them with as much fury as poſſible. The admiral ſtaid not to be deſired a ſecond time; but, ſuppoſing that he ſhould be vigorouſly aſſiſted by Bouillon, advanced through emulation, before his troop, and galloping intrepidly towards the enemy, ſuddenly attacked the left wing, threw himſelf, with his piſtol in his hand, amidſt that foreſt of lances, and carrying terror and diſmay through the firſt ſix hundred horſe, would have cut them in pieces, and perhaps have gained ſtill greater advantages, if he had been ſeconded with equal bravery: but Bouillon, on his ſide, made only a falſe attack; after which he wheeled about and retreated, and has ſince conſtantly maintained, that it was this only which had been agreed upon between the * admiral and him, although all thoſe who accompanied the latter have unanimouſly aſſerted, that he meant a true attack.

* If we will not give credit to his biographer, let us believe M. de Thou, who entirely clears the duke de Bouillon: he, moreover, ſays, that the admiral de Villars was acquainted by the count de Saint-Paul to retire; but that he did not take this notice for any other than a kind of order of the duke de Bouillon, to which he refuſed to pay any regard, through a piece of vanity and bravery which cannot be excuſed from the imputation of temerity, liv. cxii. D'Aubigné ſpeaks in the ſame manner as de Thou, tom. III. liv. iv. ch. 9. Les Mem. de la Ligue, tom. vi. and Matthieu, tom. II. liv. i. The opinion of Cayet is, that the admiral de Villars would willingly have taken advantage of the advice which the duke of Bouillon cauſed to be given him to retire, but that he was then too far engaged. Chron. Novenn. liv. vii. p. 504.

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THIS miſtake, if it was one, had a conſequence as fatal as it might have been expected: the enemy's ſquadron which Bouillon had attacked and afterwards ſhunned, was the firſt to fall upon Villars, who was then conqueror of his own; and being that inſtant joined by freſh troops, which came pouring on him in great numbers, his ſquadron, being quite overwhelmed, could find their ſafety only in flight. Villars, incapable of fear, and diſdaining to turn his back upon the enemy, performed wonders with a few brave men who would not abandon him; but at laſt, being attacked on all ſides, and ſurrounded by the enemy, they were all thrown to the ground and expired, pierced with a thouſand wounds, or maſſacred in cold blood †.

BOUILLON gained nothing by this ſacrifice of his collegue: the victorious enemy attacked his ſquadron, the other, commanded by Saint-Paul, and the whole body of foot. Their leader had not inſpired them, by his example, with a reſolution to defend themſelves. Bouillon and Saint-Paul fled with their cavalry, leaving the foot without any means of ſafety; in effect, they were all cut off. After this, the beſieged city in vain demanded to capitulate. The enemy, intoxicated with their good fortune, would liſten to no propoſitions, but ſtormed the place while they were parlying, and inhumanly butchered all they found in it. I had this whole relation from La-Font, who, after the loſs of his maſter, returned to my ſervice; and the reader may be aſſured that it is abſolutely true, ſince this man deſerves all the faith that is due to a man of honour, and an eye-witneſs

† The admiral de Villars was among theſe laſt: after having been made priſoner by ſome Neapolitans, a Spaniſh captain, named Contrera, entered on purpoſe into a diſpute with them about having him, and he made a handle of their refuſal, to kill him. L'Etoile ſays, that the hatred which the Spaniards bore him, from the time that he quitted the party of the league for that of the king, was the true cauſe of his death. He gives him the ſame encomiums as M. de Roſny. Journ. de P. de l'Etoile, ann. 1595.

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of what he relates. He told me, that more than three thouſand French were loſt upon this occaſion; and, what is truly deplorable, more valiant men periſhed, than in thoſe three great battles the king fought at Coutras, Arques, and Ivry: France, in Villars alone, ſuſtained an irreparable loſs; to the general grief of the kingdom, I joined mine in particular, for the loſs of a true and incomparable friend.

ANOTHER letter, equally worthy of credit, from the ſieur Baltazar, whom I had charged expreſsly not to omit the ſmalleſt circumſtance relating to the actions of the king's army, puts it in my power to inform the reader of all that paſſed. In this recital he will, with great pleaſure, behold a king whom the ſweets of royalty had not power to alter; his ſucceſſes were ſuch, in all their circumſtances, as could be attributed to nothing but his own valour and good conduct, and the glory of them was heightened by the oppoſition of thoſe misfortunes which happened in all places where he was not in perſon. This campaign of Henry's in Franche-Compté, in the opinion of the beſt judges, exceeded all he had hitherto performed.

I HAVE before obſerved, that marechal Biron was employed in aſſiſting the citizens of Dijon, who held the enemy's garriſon beſieged in their caſtle. He arrived there very fortunately: the viſcount of Tavannes * having brought a conſiderable reinforcement to this garriſon, the beſieged became beſiegers in their turn. The citizens, preſſed on all ſides, and reduced to the laſt extremity, could only defend themſelves at the end of a ſtreet to which they had retired, and had but one of the city gates in their poſſeſſion, when Biron came to their aſſiſtance, and reanimated their courage; they once more drove out the viſcount Tavannes, and ſurrounded the caſtles of

* John de Saulx, made a marechal of France by the league, and lieutenant of Burgundy for the duke of Maïenne.

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Dijon and Talan †. In the midſt of theſe tranſactions Biron was informed that the duke of Maïenne, full of grief for the ſucceſs of the king's arms in Burgundy, had ſo earneſtly ſolicited the conſtable of Caſtile for aſſiſtance, that the latter was upon the point of paſſing the Alps, with his army, to enter Burgundy. Biron, concealing this intelligence from the king, contented himſelf with only ſending to intreat he would come as ſoon as poſſible to help him to reduce the caſtle of Dijon. The king was come to Troyes when he received the marechal's diſpatches; and barely gueſſing at a circumſtance which the marechal had an abſolute certainty of, namely, that the conſtable of Caſtile, who, he ſuppoſed, would ſoon paſs into Flanders, would take Dijon in his way, to ſettle there the affairs of the league with the duke of Maïenne, he marched thither haſtily, and put every thing in motion, that they might find nothing more to do at their arrival.

It is not to be doubted but that theſe two generals might ſtill have been able to have prevented the king, and preſerved the caſtles of Dijon, had they not ſtopped unſeaſonably in their way to take Veſon, and ſome other little places in Franche-Compté, which had been ſeized by the troops of Lorrain. To this voluntary delay neceſſity afterwards added another at Gray, by the overflowing of the river Saone, which made it impoſſible for them to paſs it. To remove this obſtacle, the conſtable of Caſtile cauſed a bridge to be built over the river: but by his carrying on this work ſo ſlowly, it ſeemed as if he was afraid of engaging himſelf in the heart of France, with ſo many rivers behind him. The truth was, this general already knew that he had the king before him.

When the king left Troyes he ſent the count of

† About half a league from Dijon, where an Italian, named Franciſque, commanded.

Torigny

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Torigny † with eight or nine hundred horſe before him; with which marechal Biron was extremely pleaſed. Four days after, Henry himſelf arrived at Dijon, and, without diſmounting, went immediately to reconnoitre the outworks, and all the neighbouring places; eſpecially on that ſide where the enemy might be expected. He cauſed deep trenches to be made, and by that means cut off all communication between the two caſtles. This done, the king perceiving that notwithſtanding all the efforts he could make, the caſtles might ſtill hold out a long time, he went, according to his uſual cuſtom, with a ſmall detachment to meet the enemy, that he might retard their march, and give time to the reſt of the troops to finiſh their enterprize. Having ſo inconſiderable a number with him, he thought if he could find his enemies employed in their paſſage over the Saone, it would afford him a favourable opportunity: he therefore appointed Lux and ‡ Fontaine-Françoiſe for a rendezvous for the reſt of his troops, and marched before with only three hundred horſe, half of whom were arquebuſiers; and with this little eſcorte advanced to the Vigenne, near Saint-Seine: from thence he detached the marquis of Mirebeau §, with fifty or ſixty horſe, to get intelligence; and in the mean time he paſſed the river of Vigenne with a hundred, or a hundred and twenty horſe; deſigning only to reconnoitre the ground, and the form of a country, where he might poſſibly be obliged to come to an action.

He had not marched more than a league, when he ſaw Mirebeau return in great diſorder; who told him, that he had been charged by three or four hundred horſe; which had prevented him from getting

† Odet de Matignon, count de Torigny, eldeſt ſon to the marechal.

‡ Upon the frontiers of Burgundy and Franche-Compté: this expedition happened in the beginning of June.

§ James Cabot, marquis of Mirebeau, and count de Charni, counſellor of ſtate, and lieutenant in Burgundy for the king, died in 1670.

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a full view of the enemy; but added, that he believed those four hundred horse had been sent to seize the post of Saint-Seine, and that they were followed close by the whole army. Biron, who arrived that instant, offered to go and make a clearer discovery. At the distance of a thousand paces, he found, upon a little hill, an advanced guard, consisting of sixty horse, which he attacked; and taking their place, saw plainly the whole Spanish army marching in order of battle; and in particular, a body of four hundred horse, which, advancing before the rest of the army, pursued a party of one hundred and fifty French. This was the party commanded by d'Aussonville *, whom his majesty had sent to make discoveries on the other side. D'Aussonville, by flying, turned the arms of the pursuers on Biron. The enemy's detachment divided into two bands, attacked him on the right and left, doubtless with the same intention as Biron, to discover what forces were in the rear. The difference between them was, that the enemies, being supported by near six hundred horse, were two-thirds superior in number to the two squadrons commanded by Biron and Mirebeau, which made up only three hundred.

NOTWITHSTANDING this inequality, Biron continued to make a stand: he separated his three hundred horse into three equal platoons, placing Mirebeau, with the first, on the right; the baron of Lux † with the second, on the left; and posted himself, with the third, in the middle. The enemy attacked each side at once, with a hundred and fifty men: Lux suffered greatly, and was even thrown to the ground, with many others: Biron, having the advantage in his place, flew to his assistance, and re-

* . . . . baron d'Aussonville de Saint George, a gentleman of Lorrain.

† Edme de Malain, baron de Lux or Luz: he was a counsellor of state, captain of fifty gens d'armes, and the king's lieutenant in Burgundy. We shall speak of him when we come to mention marechal Biron's conspiracy, in which he was an accomplice.

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animated his troops; but was himſelf charged with ſuch impetuoſity by all the enemy's ſquadrons united together, towards whom he ſaw others from the main body of the army ſtill advancing, that he was obliged to retreat. This retreat, as ſoon as the enemy's horſe drew nearer, was changed into a real flight; in which condition he came within view of the king, who immediately ſent a hundred horſe to ſupport him. Nothing is more difficult than to ſtop the flight of a ſquadron when the enemy is at their heels; the laſt hundred men catched the contagion of fear, and returned flying with thoſe they went to aſſiſt.

THE king now finding that all depended upon himſelf, advanced towards the fugitives, without taking time to put on his helmet, expoſed himſelf to the fury of the victorious ſquadrons, which conſiſted of more than eight hundred men, called his principal officers by their names, and throwing himſelf every where, without any regard to his own perſon, obliged ſome of the fugitives at laſt to ſtop. He compoſed two bodies of the whole, and putting himſelf at the head of a hundred and fifty horſe, returned to the charge on one ſide, while la Trémouille †, with a like number, did the ſame, by his order, on the other: had it not been for ſuch an exertion of courage, it is probable, that not one of thoſe three hundred men, engaged thus on the farther ſide of a river, with a victorious body of cavalry in front, would have eſcaped. The king *, giving his ſoldiers an

† Claude de la Trémouille, duke of Thouars.

* The king ſaid, that upon other occaſions and emergencies into which he had happened to fall, he fought for victory, but here he contended for his life. Perefixe, Matthieu, Cayet, le Grain, and d'Aubigné, relate the actions of this day in the ſame manner; but M. de Thou, and vol. 8929 of the royal MSS. with ſome little difference. D'Aubigné ſays, that the king did not ſhew himſelf entirely ſatisfied, that only the dukes de la Trémouille and d'Elbeuf joined together with a good grace, "to bruſh off," ſays he, "the dew before his "majeſty." Tom. III. liv. iv. ch. 8. But according to de Thou, he

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example, threw himself, bare-headed, amidst six of the enemy's squadrons, broke through them, and forced them to give ground. Biron, taking advantage of this opportunity, rallied about a hundred and twenty horse, and returned to support the king, and all together drove the enemy's horse back to the main body of the duke of Maïenne's army.

HENRY would not have suffered his ardour to have transported him so far, but that he did not immediately perceive, that a wood on each side of him was crouded with fusileers, to whose discharge he had like to have been exposed, and would have been surrounded by them, if, in the heat of the fight, he had attacked the Spanish army: he therefore stopped his career, and kept himself upon his guard. At that moment he perceived two other bodies of horse, who came out of one of those woods to strengthen the advanced guard, which he had vanquished. This was one of those critical moments, when the least want of precaution brings on inevitable ruin. The king, who with one glance perceiv-

he commended much before the parliament, Mirebeau, la Curée, and many others.

"I have no need of counsel but of assistance," replied Henry IV. to those who advised him to make his escape on a good Turkish horse that was got ready for him; "there is more hazard in the flight than "the chace." Matthieu, tom. II. liv. i. p. 187. "Mainville," adds this historian, "who stood near him, and his pistol ready charged for the first of the enemy that came near him, let fire at one so "*a propos*, that he shot him quite through the head; and the ball came "whistling so about the king's ears, that he never spoke of a pistol but "he remembered this report, saying, That it was the loudest he had "ever heard, having been charged with two steel balls." According to the account of the same historian, the duke de Maïenne demanded only four hundred horse of the Spanish general to attack the king's troops; which the Spaniard refused him, being persuaded that Henry only wanted to draw him into an ambuscade. This distrust of the enemy was the occasion of his escape at Fontaine-Françoise, as it had been before at Aumale. And what is more surprizing is, that this prince only lost six men in so hot an action; while on the enemy's side were killed one hundred and twenty, besides two hundred wounded, and sixty taken prisoners. Chron. Novenn. liv. vii. p. 497.

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ed the design of these troops, ordered his to halt and thicken their ranks, that they might be in a condition to receive them; for in the heat of his victory he overturned all that opposed him, and found himself at large before all those battalions, who were astonished at the miracles they saw him perform. Henry knew this surprize would not last long, and that he would have the fury of a whole army to sustain, animated by the sight of a handful of foes, to repair the shame of such an astonishing defeat; he therefore took advantage of the enemy's inaction, to regain at least his first post, without being pursued; and disengaged himself from the midst of the enemy's army with so much order and superiority, that they could make themselves no amends for their loss. And this prince, in one day, and almost in one moment, acquired the honour of the most glorious victory, and finest retreat, that ever any history afforded an example of.

On his arrival, he found the count of Cheverny †, the chevalier d'Oise, messieurs de Vitry, de Clermont, de Risse, d'Arambure, de la Curée, d'Heures, de Saint-Geran, and de la Boulaye, with each his company, which being joined to those troops the king had before, composed a body of eight hundred horse. After this reinforcement the enemy durst not attack them, being persuaded that his whole army was not far off; and not yet recovered from their consternation at the defeat of their men by a platoon scarce the sixth part of their number, they turned back, placing their infantry in the rear to cover their cavalry. The king followed them close, and harrassed

† Henry Huralt, count de Cheverny, George de Brancas-Villars, Louis de l'Hôpital-Vitry, George de Clermont d'Amboise, ... de Crequy de Rissey, Jean d'Arambure, and Gilbert Filhet de la Curée, who also was in the engagement, where he fought without armour, and badly mounted. A voice, which he thought to be the king's, called to him, "Take care, Curée;" when, lo, he found it was one of the enemy, who was just ready to run him through with his lance; but he killed him. Vol. 8929. MSS. de la Bibliot. de Roi.

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ſed them continually, till they had repaſſed the Saone upon the bridge they had built below Gray. Not daring to attempt the paſſage again, Burgundy, by this exploit, remained wholly at the king's diſcretion: he reduced it all in a few days, except the Seure †, and ſeized ſeveral little towns in Franche-Compté, which he releaſed at the intreaty of the Swiſs. Theſe advantages were all owing to the battle of Fontaine-Françoiſe.

HENRY, when he learnt the defeat of his forces in Picardy, confeſſed, that thoſe advantages, great as they were, did not equal that loſs. He quitted Burgundy and the Lyonnois immediately, and marched haſtily towards Paris. Paſſing by Moret, I acquainted him with my motives for leaving the council: he approved of them, and was of opinion, that the confidence which the other members of it perceived he repoſed in me, and the deſire I had to make myſelf ſtill more worthy that diſtinction, had drawn their enmity upon me. He had the goodneſs to conſole me for it, by aſſuring me that my ſufferings upon this occaſion would only increaſe his friendſhip for me. I agreed with his majeſty, that at a time when the check his forces received at Dourlens might occaſion a revolution, there was a neceſſity to diſſemble his diſguſt, and to avoid accuſing any one. It was to me only that the king complained of the authors of that fatal accident, and deplored the dangerous effects of enmity between leaders, which is almoſt the ſole cauſe of the greateſt diſaſters in war. He appeared ſenſibly affected with the loſs of admiral Villars, and never mentioned him but with the higheſt praiſes; nor could he be deceived by any thing which the intereſted parties advanced, to place all that had happened to the account of the deceaſed.

IT was then that this prince was convinced, and acknowledged to me, that he had yielded unreaſon-

† Seure, a town upon the river Saone: it has changed its name, and now is called Bellegarde.

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ably

ably to propoſals for a war, the ſucceſs of which he had been perſuaded was infallible: he was even candid enough to treat it as an error which might plunge France once more into greater miſeries than thoſe ſhe had juſt been delivered from. By ſpeaking thus, the king only reflected on the greatneſs of a loſs ſuch as Catelet, Capelle, Ardres †, Dourlens, Cambray, from which Balagny had been juſt driven; and Calais eſpecially, which though not yet taken, was looked upon as already loſt. As for me, I thought the kingdom was then in moſt danger, when the king, by an aſtoniſhing inſtance of valour and good fortune, preſerved Burgundy and his own life. From that time Henry uſed to ſay, that a declaration of war was one of thoſe affairs that required the greateſt deliberation, and could never be ſufficiently enough attended to. From this example princes may ſtill draw another leſſon no leſs uſeful, which is, that they ought never to entertain a perſonal hatred for their neighbours, and that prudence, on certain occaſions, requires them to ſeem diſpoſed for a reconciliation, notwithſtanding the moſt violent, and even the moſt juſt reſentment.

THE king was careful to avoid diſcovering his thoughts in public; on the contrary, he endeavoured to revive the courage of thoſe who ſeemed moſt depreſt. To the Pariſians, who made him compliments of condolance upon his loſs, he replied that it might be eaſily repaired, provided they would join actions to words. They made him great offers; but his majeſty, who had had frequent proofs of the little dependence he could have on them, took his own meaſures, and without waiting for the accompliſhment of their promiſes, left Paris the next day, with the ſatisfaction of hearing before he went, by a cou-

§ Ardres was ſurrendered to the enemy by the count de Belin, almoſt without making any defence: for which he was diſgraced, turned out of his places, and ſent home to his eſtate, &c. Bongars Epiſt. 75 ad Camer. Moriſot, ch. 33.

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rier from Rome, that the pope had been at laſt prevailed upon to grant him the abſolution † he had ſo long ſolicited. In the preſent conjuncture, this news was of the utmoſt importance.

To this abſolution the holy father annexed the following conditions ‡: That the king ſhould ex-

† "What made the pope," ſays M. de Perefixe, "delay giving "abſolution ſo long was, ſaid he, becauſe that he alone had the "power of reſtoring penitents: and he was very much diſpleaſed that "the prelates of France had taken upon them to abſolve him, tho' "they had only done it proviſionally, *ad cautelam*."

‡ Beſides theſe conditions, the original of which may be ſeen in vol. 8778 of the MSS. de la Bibliot. du Roi, where the act of abſolution of Henry IV. is ſet down at length, in Italian, the holy father impoſes therein for penance upon this prince, to hear on every Sunday and feſtival, a conventual maſs in the chapel royal, and private maſs every week day, to ſay the roſary every Sunday, the chaplet every Saturday, and the litanies every Wedneſday, to faſt every Friday, to confeſs and communicate publicly at leaſt four times a year. I obſerve, in this act, that the pope, after having given this prince abſolution, then entitles him only the king of France and Navarre. At each verſe of the *Miſerere*, the holy father gave a light touch of the penitentiary crook on the ſhoulders of M. Du-Perron, and M. d'Oſſat, who are therein called *Procuratori di Navarre:* this is but an ordinary formality in this ſort of ceremony; upon which the proteſtant writers have not failed to comment with great indignity, by ſaying that Henry IV. had ſubmitted to receive laſhes of the whip from the procurator, and other ſuch like calumnies: but theſe malicious pleaſantries have not been able to impoſe upon any, ſince M. de Thou and all the ſenſible writers have ſhewn, that they were altogether unjuſt and without foundation. M. de Sully, as far as appears, had got over this popular error; but I know not if he obſerves the ſame equity with regard to M. d'Oſſat.

What he ſays here, and in many other places of theſe Memoirs, excited in me a curioſity to read carefully the collection of this cardinal's letters, who is reputed amongſt us to have been as good a Frenchman as an able ſtateſman. I will ſpeak freely my mind as to each grievance which furniſhes the duke de Sully with occaſion of attacking him, according as they fall in my way. And to begin with that of Henry IV's abſolution, it appears to me, after examining all he ſays on this head, page 45, 48, 105, 107, 115, 129, 208, &c. of the old edition in folio, that we cannot but acknowledge on one hand, that he met with great ſcruples in the pope's breaſt, and real difficulties on the part of the ſacred college: that he applied himſelf with great aſſiduity and with equal ſucceſs to ſurmount them; and that any but he would have had much to do to have conquered them; as is evident from what happened to the duke de Nevers, the cardinal de Retz, the marquis de Piſany, and others: that for his own part he is very far from approving the many ſubterfuges to which the court of Rome had often re-

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clude the proteſtants from all employments and dignities, and uſe his utmoſt endeavours to ſuppreſs them entirely: That he ſhould reſtore the celebration of maſs in Bearn, and obliged the huguenots to make reſtitution to the catholics of all the effects which had been taken from the eccleſiaſtics: That he ſhould prevail upon the prince of Condé to embrace the roman catholic religion: That he ſhould publiſh and cauſe the council of Trent to be received: and laſtly, That the jeſuits ſhould be again eſtabliſhed in France. Theſe conditions which regarded the proteſtants and the council of Trent were not complied with, the reſt were.

THOSE perſons who thought the king received laws from the pope upon this occaſion, ought to lay the blame upon Du-Perron, and ſtill more upon Arnaud d'Oſſat, then agent for this affair at Rome. Theſe two eccleſiaſtics were ſo far from rejecting theſe conditions, that they would have been grieved, if they had not been inſiſted upon; if any credit may be given to a memorial which was many years afterwards ſent me from Rome, and which I ſhall ſpeak of fully in its place: it affords a complete proof of what I have juſt advanced, at leaſt with regard to d'Oſſat.

courſe in their formalities; and even that all this chicane made him often uneaſy, as alſo the unfair dealing which, he complains, they uſed in the bull of abſolution. However, in oppoſition to all this, a man may perceive on the other hand in theſe very places, and ſtill more in all thoſe paſſages that in any meaſure relate to the proteſtants, the jeſuits, or the council of Trent, &c. that his eminence was not at all diſturbed, that the affair of the king's abſolution had paſſed under the reſtrictions of which M. de Sully complains ſo bitterly: whether it was that M. d'Oſſat did not perceive therein the pretended leſion of the honour of the crown, and the prejudice done to the liberties of the Gallican church, which I leave to the learned to determine; or whether he believed that all theſe precautions became neceſſary for the intereſt of religion; or laſtly, whether he were not biaſſed in favour of the maxims of the league: and yet all this does not hinder me from ſubſcribing to the encomiums which our beſt hiſtorians have given this cardinal; and in the laſt place Amelot de la Houſſaye, in the life he gives us of him that is prefixed to the edition of his letters,

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THIS memorial advances two things relating to the king's abſolution, which proves one of the principal articles: that the pope and the whole ſacred college were ſo ardently deſirous of the king's applying to Rome for this ceremony, that they could not conceal their fears, when they were ſometimes informed that Henry would be brought to deſpiſe it, or look upon it as uſeleſs; and this the author proves from their own letters: ſecondly, that d'Oſſat, inſtead of informing the king of this diſpoſition in the court of Rome, which he would have done had his honour and dignity been of the ſmalleſt conſequence to him, on the contrary gave this prince to underſtand, that he could not obtain a reconciliation with his holineſs, but by offering an incroachment upon the liberties of the Gallican church, and purchaſing it by thoſe conditions already mentioned. Henry, however, rewarded his two agents with the higheſt dignity in the prelacy.

IN three days his majeſty arrived at Péronne, where he was immediately ſaluted by Balagny. This man, who by an exceſs of ridiculous vanity ‡, had

to which I refer the reader. The abbé Du-Perron and M. de Villeroi, had likewiſe done conſiderable ſervice to Henry IV. in the affair of his abſolution. Matthieu, tom. II. liv. ii. p. 210, & ſeq.

‡ M. de Perefixe ſays, that Cambrai was taken by famine: others, as Matthieu, blame the miſunderſtanding that ſubſiſted between the dukes de Nevers and de Bouillon for it; and others again the negligence of Balagny. The Memoirs of the league, tom. VI. remark, that three companies of Swiſs, not having had their pay given them, compelled him to deliver up the place. All the hiſtorians have cried up the courage of Renée de Clermont, the wife of Balagny, and ſiſter to the brave Buſſy d'Amboiſe, who, after having, to no purpoſe, done all ſhe could to inſpire reſolution into the garriſon and her huſband, did not chooſe to ſurvive the loſs of her principality, and died either of famine or grief. "And here in one article, is an abſtract of "the greateſt diſgrace that France has ſuffered from foreigners "in the memory of man." So ſpeaks d'Aubigné, in concluding the 9th chapter, liv. iv. tom. III. of his hiſtory, in which he has collected the taking of Catelet, la Capelle, Ardres, Cambrai, Calais, and the defeat at Dourlens. Balagny tells a Spaniſh officer, who ſeemed ſurprized at ſeeing him take his miſtreſs along with him, and in the ſame boat, that love ſoftened all the croſs accidents of fortune: "Right,"

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juſt loſt his government, his fortune, his wife, and his honour, inſtead of bluſhing for his folly, and concealing himſelf from reproach, affected to ſhew himſelf, talked big; and in this ſtate, which was indeed the fitteſt for him, expected all that regarded which is generally paid to unfortunate ſovereigns. The king reſolved to attempt all things to aſſiſt Calais: finding that his troops were not ſufficient to ſtorm the camp of the beſiegers, he took the only courſe that now remained, which was to throw himſelf into the place, at the head of a conſiderable reinforcement. Twice he embarked with this deſign, but a contrary wind forced him back again to land. While he deſpaired of accompliſhing his enterprize, Matelet, governor of Foix, came to him, and offered to attempt a third time to enter Calais, promiſing him that, if he would give him four or five hundred gentlemen, he would ſo manage, either by ſea or land, that he would open himſelf a paſſage. The king praiſing his reſolution, gave him the eſcort he demanded; with which Matelet ſucceeded in his deſign, and entered Calais, after having ſurmounted a thouſand obſtacles ‡. But the glory of this brave action was ſoon obliterated, when it appeared that he had only joined the garriſon to be in-

"Right," replied the Spaniard, "and eſpecially at preſent, as you "will have leſs to do than you have had before." P. Matthieu, tom. II. liv. ii. p. 219.

‡ Hiſtorians do not agree as to this action. Some, as de Thou and d'Aubigné, by ſaying nothing at all of it, ſeem to call it in queſtion; others aſcribe it to the ſieur de Campagnole the younger; Davila and our Memoirs to Matelet, governor of Foix. Queen Elizabeth offered to defend Calais againſt the Spaniards, upon condition that the place were put into the hands of the Engliſh. Sancy, who was then ambaſſador at London, made anſwer to the queen, that the king his maſter would rather have it in the hands of the Spaniards than in thoſe of the Engliſh: and Henry IV. ſaid himſelf, "If he were to be bit, "he had rather it was by a lion than a lioneſs;" and this was the reaſon that queen Elizabeth afterwards refuſed to beſiege that town, while Henry IV. lay before that of Amiens, though they offered then to put it into her hands by way of ſecurity. Matthieu, ibid. p. 223.

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fected with their fears, and to consent to a capitulation: and the king had the mortification to march to Calais, only to see it surrendered before his face.

If it be demanded where during this time were all those French noblemen and officers who were so forward in advising the war; and why they suffered the king to bear the whole burthen of it, and suffer repeated losses? It must be owned, to the dishonour of the French name, that they expected to draw advantages to themselves by the misfortunes their imprudence occasioned, and their negligence augmented; and formed, in the mean time, projects more fatal to the king's authority than the bloodiest foreign war. These projects I shall mention immediately.

The king, equally superior to good and bad fortune, comforted those that were driven out of Calais, provided for the security of * Boulogne, Abbeville, Montreuil, Monthulin, and other towns and castles, and marched towards St. Quintin, fearing lest the enemies, who were not far from those quarters, should surprize some of the nobles, and general officers who came thither separately. They chose this opportunity for the execution of a design which they had formed, before they left Paris. The duke of Montpensier was the person whom they charged with this commission, not because he was more disaffected than the rest, but because his temper was most easy, and his understanding the weakest. He accosted the king at Saint-Quintin; and, in the name of the principal French nobility, proposed to him, as the only means of subduing his enemies, to resign to the governors of provinces the property of their governments, with an hereditary right to them, requiring nothing of them but their allegiance.

It is not easy to comprehend how a proposal which had so manifest a tendency to throw France into

‡ Cities and forts in Picardy.

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into a ſtate of anarchy, that in former ages had filled it with blood and horror, could proceed from the mouth of a Frenchman, a prince, and what is more, a prince of the royal blood. Henry, ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at the prodigious inſolence of this affront offered to the royal dignity, for ſome moments could not utter a word, while the duke of Montpenſier continuing a ſpeech which had been ſtudied long before, endeavoured to prove to his majeſty, that while thoſe governors, or rather thoſe little princes, obliged themſelves to maintain troops always ready for his ſervice, he would be never again reduced to ſuch a ſituation as he was in at preſent, to appear before his enemies without ſoldiers to oppoſe them. The king, though agitated with various paſſions, diſcovered none to the duke, but pity towards him for the unworthy part he played. He ſtopped him from proceeding farther, by telling him, without the leaſt reſentment, that he had already heard too much; and that he was convinced thoſe French nobles had taken advantage of the eaſineſs of his temper, to make him the bearer of a propoſal, the whole meanneſs of which he was not ſenſible of, he who was a prince of the blood, and nearer to the crown than himſelf had formerly been. The king added much more to the ſame purpoſe, with equal calmneſs, and was ſo far from being apprehenſive that he ſhould be reduced to yield to ſuch a propoſition, and ſo determined to ſuffer a thouſand deaths, if poſſible, rather than bring ſuch a load of infamy upon the royal dignity, that he had not even the thought of entering into any diſcuſſion of this project, or of uttering a ſingle word in anſwer to it §.

THE duke of Montpenſier became ſenſible of his fault, by the air and tone with which his majeſty ſpoke to him; he bluſhed and aſked pardon for it, and intreated the king never to remember that he

§ "We are all gentlemen, ſaid Henry IV. ſometimes," before the princes of the blood.

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had been capable of thus degrading himſelf from his rank. The king, after having ſhewn the duke the whole extent of his fault, directed him how, in ſome meaſure, to repair it, with thoſe who had prevailed upon him to commit it; and aſſured him, that he for his own part would forget it entirely, and ſtill regard him as his kinſman. The duke of Montpenſier agreed to take the firſt opportunity that offered, when the authors of that inſolent propoſal brought it again on the carpet, to declare that he had reflected well upon the commiſſion they had given him; that they might ſend their propoſal by any other perſon, ſince he abſolutely diſapproved of it; and if ever he was to mention it to his majeſty, it ſhould be with a deſign to diſſuade him from it; and that they might depend upon his uſing his utmoſt endeavours to hinder its taking effect. He performed his taſk ſo exactly, and with an air ſo natural, that he wholly diſconcerted all thoſe noblemen, and left them no inclination to make any attempts on his fidelity for the future.

It was therefore to reduce the king to the neceſſity of making them his equals, that the princes and governors of provinces in France ſo ill performed their promiſe of aſſiſting him with troops. The duke of Bouillon was one of thoſe who ſold his ſervices the deareſt. His majeſty, not doubting but he had a part in the plot, was willing to have a proof of it from the duke's perplexity, without letting him know that he was informed of it by other means. Bouillon did not want art and eloquence enough to conceal whatever he deſigned ſhould not be known; but, beſides that Henry poſſeſſed in no leſs degree the art of penetrating into the thoughts of thoſe with whom he converſed, the preſence of a ſovereign is alone capable of abaſhing a man conſcious of any ſecret guilt towards him. The king began by convincing himſelf that the duke of Montpenſier had not betrayed their late diſcourſe to the duke of Bouillon.

After

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After which he introduced the defeat of Dourlens, by aſking him plainly, and with a kind of confidence, how it happened that he had been diſappointed in thoſe certain correſpondencies which as he ſaid he carried on in Liege, Namur, and many other places in Luxembourgh, and Hainault, upon which he was ſenſible the war had been undertaken?

Bouillon, embarraſed by the queſtion, and that air of ſimplicity with which it was propoſed, inſtead of giving a direct anſwer concerning his pretended correſpondencies, fell into long ſpeeches, without meaning or end, which betrayed him more effectually, than the moſt ſincere confeſſion could have done. He accuſed all the world; the duke of Nevers, who he ſaid had corrupted his officers and obſtructed his levies; the Engliſh for not making the promiſed diverſion; the Dutch for taking advantage of this conjuncture to increaſe the power on their ſide of Over-Iſſel and Frieſland. Upon which the duke of Bouillon, who ſought only to turn the converſation ſtill more from the firſt ſubject, told the king, that the true cauſe of the misfortune which had lately happened, was, that his majeſty had no perſon of conſequence, and on whom he could have an abſolute dependence, at the court of London, to haſten the ſupplies that had been promiſed there; and at the ſame time offered himſelf for this embaſſy, and even ſolicited it earneſtly. The king being of opinion that it would anſwer no purpoſe to preſs the duke any farther upon this fault, ceaſed to mention it; and reflecting that he ſhould not loſe much by his abſence, conſented at laſt to the embaſſy to England. Accordingly his commiſſion was made out, and the duke of Bouillon, a few days after, ſet out for that kingdom.

It was from his majeſty himſelf that I had an account of this converſation with the duke of Bouillon, as likewiſe that with the duke of Montpenſier before mentioned.

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THE king had no ſooner quitted Bouillon, than reflecting that the duke, inſtead of having any deſign to ſerve him uſefully at the court of London, had poſſibly only ſolicited that employment to give bad impreſſions there of his conduct, or at leaſt to labour only for his own intereſt, he ſent Jaquinot for me early in the morning, to communicate this fear to me. I kneeled on a cuſhion at his bedſide, and his majeſty aſked me immediately what was ſaid, and what I, in particular, thought of the long converſation he had juſt held with the duke of Bouillon. I replied, that every one gueſſed his own way; and that probably the affair of Ham, and Dourlens, and the propoſal made by the duke of Montpenſier, made up the greateſt part of it. The king told me that I was miſtaken; that he was too well acquainted with the duke of Bouillon's diſpoſition, to doubt that any reproaches upon theſe occaſions, inſtead of correcting, would only ſerve to throw him in an open revolt. His majeſty afterwards, repeating exactly all that has been related concerning the embaſſy to England, propoſed to me to accompany the duke of Bouillon thither, that I might carefully obſerve his conduct.

IN courts every thing is brought about by artifice. The king, after his converſation with the duke of Bouillon, telling his council for the finances, that he had ſent the duke to England, theſe gentlemen, after conferring together, found nothing ſo fit to ſatisfy their hatred of me, as to perſuade the king to join me with the duke of Bouillon. My abilities for negociations were praiſed, an honour which they were reſolved to deprive me of, when they had once ſucceeded in removing me from the king, who not penetrating into their views, approved of the propoſal. But I did not ſo eaſily fall into the ſnare: I ſhewed his majeſty the true motive of theſe gentlemen's feigned generoſity with regard to me. From the moment that the duke of Bouillon diſcovered that

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I watched his conduct, and disconcerted his projects, he would not fail to break with me; and such a genius as he possessed, when animated with malice, would suggest to him the means of throwing upon me the blame of all the faults he committed, and all the good he neglected to do. My enemies knew this as well as I; his majesty was convinced by my reasons, and pressed me no farther.

THE gentlemen of the council did not stop here: when they came again to the king, they were the first to confess that it was with reluctance they joined me to the duke of Bouillon; but since that duke was to stay but a short time at London, they had pitched upon me to take his place with the same title and equal honours. All was alike to them, provided they could get rid of me. The king was again influenced by their opinions, and some days after, declared his intention to me; ordering me to make preparations immediately for this voyage; to provide myself with money, and to dispose my wife to follow me, if I chose to have her with me; which, however, he did not think necessary, since I should not, he said, be absent above seven or eight months at most. The king perceiving my reluctance, accompanied this order with the most kind and obliging expressions his imagination could suggest; he told me that the present perplexed situation of his affairs hindering him from giving me the sole direction of the finances, he should reproach himself for exposing to the dangers of a long and furious siege the only man in his kingdom whom he thought worthy to fill that important post. His majesty had just then declared himself publicly concerning the siege of La-Fere.

WHILE the king was speaking, I was struck with astonishment at the obstinate persecution of my enemies, and the depth of their malice. Under the appearance of a title of honour vain in itself, and fatal in its consequences, they took away, and perhaps for

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ever, all oportunities of advancing me: For who in my abſence would be ſolicitous for my intereſt? Who would hinder them from prolonging my ſtay out of the kingdom, till, affairs having taken a fixed and durable ſtate in France, there would be nothing left for a man who, by ſo long an abſence, would be regarded as a ſtranger. Theſe reflections kept me firm in my reſolution not to go. I intreated the king not to force me to a journey for which I felt an invincible repugnance; and I had the good fortune to find that Henry was of himſelf diſpoſed to believe that I ſhould be of more uſe to him at Paris than London, during the ſiege he was going to undertake: he therefore ſent me thither to facilitate his ſupplies of money, to furniſh him with whatever was neceſſary towards carrying on the ſiege, to receive his orders there, make one of his council, and direct its reſolutions. Had the choice of my revenge been in my own power, I could not have fixed upon any more effectual.

BOOK VIII.

THE motive which had determined the king to undertake ſo difficult a ſiege as that of La-Fere, was, that, his enemies having after their ſucceſs ſeparated their troops, he would not ſuffer his own, who had at laſt aſſembled, to remain idle, there being a neceſſity to ſecure Picardy, already ſhaken by ſo many repeated loſſes. Had I had the liberty of diſpoſing of myſelf as I pleaſed, I ſhould have choſen to continue with the king during this ſiege, whoſe too great ſolicitude for my ſafety I could by no means approve: but I did not dare to refuſe the commiſſion which would detain me in Paris; and his majeſty, to render this order leſs diſpleaſing, aſſured me, that he would not for a long time attempt any thing

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thing considerable against La-Fere; and that some time or other he would permit me to make a journey thither. In reality I did so several times, but had no sooner arrived, than the necessity of providing for the subsistence of his troops obliged me to return again immediately. I comforted myself, however, with the thought, that through my diligence the army being supplied with every thing it had occasion for, I might flatter myself with having, in some measure, contributed to the success of this siege, which lasted six months, and was the longest that Henry was ever engaged in. This place, besides its advantageous fortifications, had a very numerous garrison, composed of chosen soldiers, and commanded by two excellent officers, the one a Frenchman *, high steward to Montelimart; and the other a Spaniard, named Osorio.

Beringhen †, at the persuasions of an engineer who was his friend and kinsman, and had come expressly for that purpose from Flanders, where he had lived, took it into his head that it was possible to lay all La-Fere under water; and, upon the assurances of his friend, was so confident of success, that the king, though contrary to his own judgment, suffered him to make the attempt: it would indeed have shortened the siege; but it is to be observed, that almost all projects of this kind are liable to fail: the slightest mistake is sufficient to ruin them, and it seldom happens but some mistake is made. The project of turning the course of the Tesin formerly cost Francis I. the loss of a battle, together with his liberty. In one of these journies I made to the camp, I found this proposal upon the carpet. I looked upon the execution of it to be impossible, and I combated it with all my force: but the engineer wanted not plausible reasons to oppose to ours. Ac-

* His name was Colas; the Spaniards had promised to make him count de La-Fere.

† Peter de Beringhen was himself a Fleming, and born at Brussels.

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cording to him, it was an attempt that would coſt but little time and trouble; all they had to do was to raiſe a cauſey: this they performed; and the water deſtroying their work two or three times, they renewed it as often; at laſt it became proof againſt the water, but the river did not riſe to the height they expected: it is true, indeed, that it wanted only ſix feet, but that was ſufficient to force them to abandon the work §, after having conſumed in it a great deal of time and money.

THE king falling ſick at Fraverſy, where his head-quarters were, the ſiege of La-Fere ſuffered a ſtill longer delay. As ſoon as the news was brought me I flew to him, and never left him till his health was perfectly re-eſtabliſhed. His ſickneſs was conſiderable enough to make me apprehend for France the greateſt loſs it could poſſibly ſuſtain. The governor of La-Fere, finding himſelf in want of every thing that could enable him to hold out a longer time, ſurrendered the place to the king, who cauſed it to be repaired; and at the intreaty of madam de Liancourt, he appointed her ſon Cæſar to be governor of it, Manicamp, a kinſman * of this lady, performing all the functions of that office, in quality of his lieutenant.

HIS majeſty marching afterwards to the frontiers of Artois, took the caſtle of Imbercourt by aſſault; and thought to have done the ſame, by petard, with the city of Arras. Marechal Biron † was the cauſe of the ill ſucceſs of this laſt enterprize, by not providing himſelf with a ſufficient quantity of

§ D'Aubigné does not ſpeak of it ſo contemptibly, ch. 12. ibid. "The cauſey," ſays he, "having made the river Oiſe flow back "within La-Fere, it ſpoiled all the magazines they had in the "lower parts and cellars of the town. It was a large machine, "above a quarter of a league in length. Such an undertaking "ſhews, that neither the king nor the kingdom was diſpirited "under theſe preſſures and diſadvantages."

* Philip de Longueval, ſieur de Manicamp.

† Biron, in his turn, loudly exclaimed againſt the king's avarice.

petards:

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petards: the three firſt they applied played tolerably well, but the fourth being thrown, without effect, into the ditch, with the perſon that directed it, ſeveral of our men were killed and wounded by it. It was, indeed, a mortifying thought that a conqueſt of ſuch importance, which would have ſecured Amiens from the misfortune which ſoon after happened to it, ſhould be loſt for want of a petard or two more. Biron, to avoid the reproaches he had reaſon to expect, got out of the way, and went to diſcharge his rage upon the country about Bapaume, where he made a horrible devaſtation.

THE ill ſucceſs of the attempt upon Arras was ſufficiently compenſated by many favourable events that happened at the end of the preceding year and the beginning of this, which I ſhall paſs over ſlightly as uſual; theſe were the reduction of Toulouſe ‡, the proſperity of the king's arms in Provence, and the reunion of the chiefs of the league in the king's party. Joyeuſe ‖, who had quitted the habit of a monk, to reſume that of a ſoldier, and paid himſelf with uſury for the mortifications of a cloiſterer, made a treaty with the king about that time. The duke of Nemours § followed his example; but juſt as it was upon the point of being concluded, he died † with vexation, as ſome believe, for the bad ſucceſs of ſo many great projects. Saint-Sorlin, his brother, continued the treaty for himſelf. The death of the duke of Nevers ‡ delivered the king likewiſe from

‡ As to theſe facts, conſult the hiſtories before mentioned for the years 1595 and 1596.

‖ Henry de Joyeuſe. He again entered himſelf among the capuchins, and died there, under the name of father Ange.

§ Henry de Savoie-Nemours.

† "He voided, by his mouth and pores, every drop of blood in "his body." Perefixe, ibid. Cayet gives a very moving deſcription of it, ibid. p. 519.

‡ Louis de Gonzague died of a dyſentry at Neſſe in 1595, aged fifty-ſix: of chagrin, ſays others, becauſe that when he talked with Henry IV. adviſing him with regard to Calais, this prince made

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a troubleſome uſeleſs ſervant. Laſtly, the duke of Maïenne, now abſolutely diſguſted with the treachery of the Spaniards, began to think ſeriouſly upon means to reſtore himſelf to the favour of the king.

THE king thought it of ſuch importance to make himſelf maſter of Arras, that he reſolved to beſiege it in form. I was the only perſon to whom he communicated this deſign; ſecrecy was of ſuch conſequence on this great occaſion, that he durſt not truſt any one with the care of making obſervations upon the place, and therefore undertook that taſk himſelf. I had continued the whole winter at Paris, employed in his majeſty's ſervice, and ſometimes made little excurſions to Moret, in which I took great delight. One day, when I was buſy in overſeeing my workmen, who were levelling the high grounds about two thouſand paces from my houſe, to bring thither two rivulets which form thoſe two ſheets of water which are at preſent near the great

made anſwer, "How can you adviſe me on this head? you who "have never been nigher that town than ſeven leagues." Tho' M. de Thou, liv. cxiii. and Brantome, tom. III. p. 259. very much extol him, the charge which the duke de Sully brings againſt him, of having been always a very expenſive ſervant to his maſter, may be eaſily made out, even from this general's own letters to Henry IV. of which we have a collection in de Nevers's Memoirs, tom. II. p. 237, 376. "If your majeſty," ſays he to him in one of his letters, "cannot or will not come this length, I ſhall remove ſo far, that there "will be no grounds to expect any ſuccours from me. In truth, "ſire, you do not make me returns ſuitable to the manner in which "I ſerve you; and it appears to all the world that you do not value "me much.--I never was treated in the manner you treat me by the "kings your predeceſſors; from them I received many favours, "whereby I was obliged to ſerve them implicitly; and I am yet to "receive the firſt favour from your majeſty. If fatal and ruinous "commiſſions be not the favours I receive from you, I will be ſo free "as to tell you, that I have received no other ſince you were pleaſed "to order me into theſe parts," &c. p. 348. And there are a great many more letters in the ſame ſtrain. It is from theſe the duke of Sully, to whom Henry IV. communicated all his cabinet ſecrets, formed a judgment as to the diſpoſitions of the duke de Nevers, and not from thoſe he writ to ſeveral other perſons, which ſhew great attachment and zeal for the king's perſon.

alley

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alley, a courier from madam de Liancourt arrived, who brought me a letter from this lady, and another from his majesty, in which he informed me of his designs upon Arras, and the methods by which he hoped to succeed. I had never seen this prince in so great a rage as by this letter he appeared to be in, against the "impositions and rogueries (these were his words) of eight gluttons;" who were given him, he said, instead of one that he had before: "those rascals," added he, "with that prodigious "number of intendants, who have brought in all "their male and female gossips, feast together, and "have consumed above a hundred thousand crowns, "a sum large enough to drive all the Spaniards out "of France." This was, indeed, exactly true, which I shall make sufficiently clear when I enter into an account of the finances; at present I shall only relate two or three circumstances.

THE council of the finances supposed, that in order to furnish the supplies for the siege of La-Fere, they should be called upon to clear their accounts: in this, however, they were mistaken, the king having put the superintendency of the siege wholly into my hands. These supplies Descures, la Corbiniere, and some other contractors, with whom the financers lived in such intelligence, that they made use occasionally of their names, without admitting them to more than very small shares, were engaged to procure. They then treated, under these borrowed names, with tradesmen and purveyors, who commonly served them at the lowest prices, and contrived to charge to the king thrice the real expence.

THE following fact I had from the king himself. Very considerable arrears were due from the royal treasury to the Swiss soldiers, German horse, and other foreigners in the French pay. The council suborned a man, named Otoplote, who gave the receivers deputed by these foreigners to understand, that they must never expect to be paid, unless they con-

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conſented to reduce their demands to ſuch a moderate ſum as could be given them, without draining the exchequer. The reduction was agreed to; but the gentlemen of the council charged the whole ſum to the king's account, and by this means robbed his majeſty, or rather the lawful creditors, of the overplus.

To this many other frauds of the ſame kind may be added. Theſe gentlemen revelled in luxury, while the king and his houſhold wanted neceſſaries. A few days after that on which his majeſty wrote to me, he ſent to inform them that he had occaſion for eight hundred thouſand crowns, for an enterprize of great importance (the ſiege of Arras); he intreated, he conjured them to let him have this ſum, but in vain; all the anſwer he could get was, that ſo far from being able to furniſh him with what he demanded, they knew not how to ſupply the expences of his houſhold. It is, indeed, curious to ſee how this houſhold was ſupported. "I am," ſays this amiable and worthy prince, in a letter to me, "very near my enemies, and hardly a horſe to carry me into the battle, nor a complete ſuit of armour to put on; my ſhirts are all ragged, my doublets * out at elbow, my kettle is ſeldom on the fire, and theſe two laſt days I have been obliged to dine where I could, for my purveyors have informed me, that they have not wherewithal to furniſh my table." Thoſe belonging to the gentlemen of the council were better provided. Henry, in his letter, deplored theſe monſtrous abuſes, leſs on his own account than on his people's, whom he ſaid he looked upon as his children, ſince heaven had given him no others, and propoſed to me the deſign of aſſembling the ſtates of the kingdom, to conſider of a remedy for all theſe miſdemeanors.

* "I have ſeen upon him," ſays le Grain, liv. viii. "a coat of plain white cloth, that was very much ſoiled by his breaſt-plate, and torn in the ſleeves; as alſo ſtockings that were very much worn and holed through on the ſword ſide."

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I OBEYED the order the king gave me to burn his letter, but not till I had taken a copy of it; and the reaſons for keeping it ſecret, no longer ſubſiſting, I think it my duty to publiſh the contents, as a proof of the wiſdom and goodneſs of this prince: his majeſty concluded his letter with ordering me to come to him in Picardy, and to conduct his miſtreſs thither. We were the only perſons to whom he could diſcloſe his thoughts with freedom. The letter from madam de Liancourt was very ſhort; in it ſhe informed me, that ſhe would ſet out the Tueſday following, in order to reach Maubuiſſon on Wedneſday, where ſhe had a ſiſter, who was abbeſs †, and that ſhe would wait for me there.

I ARRIVED at Corbeil on Saturday evening, intending to paſs part of Sunday and all Monday at Paris, having ſome purchaſes to make for the palace. Juſt as I entered the ſtreet de la Coutellierie, I met a meſſenger from madam de Liancourt, who acquainted me, that that lady having received freſh letters from the king, and alſo an account that her ſiſter, the abbeſs of Maubuiſſon, was ill, ſhe had determined to ſet out before the day appointed, and that I might join her at Pontoiſe. I ſuſpected this lady had an intention to make her court to the king at the expence of my dilatorineſs; I therefore altered my reſolution, and told my people, that I would go that ſame night to Maubuiſſon, without ſtopping at Paris but only while I refreſhed myſelf and baited my horſes, which I did at the firſt inn I came to, whoſe deſign was the three pigeons. The mention of this inn recalls to my remembrance a comical adventure which happened to me there.

ENTERING, without any attendants, into a very large chamber, I found a man walking about it very faſt, and ſo abſorbed in thought, that he neither ſaluted me, nor, as I imagine, perceived my entrance.

† Angelica d'Eſtrées.

Looking

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Looking at him with more attention, every thing in his perſon, his manner, his countenance, and dreſs, appeared to me very uncommon, his body was long and ſlender, his face thin and withered, his beard white and forked; he had a large hat on his head that covered his face, a cloak buttoned cloſe at the collar, boots of an enormous ſize, a ſword that trailed on the ground, and in his hand a large double bag, like thoſe that are tied to ſaddle-bows. I aſked him, in a raiſed tone of voice, if he lodged in that chamber, and why he ſeemed in ſuch a profound contemplation? My man, affronted at the queſtion, without ſaluting, or even deigning to look at me, anſwered me rudely, that he was in his own chamber, and that he was thinking of his affairs, as I might do of mine. Although I was a little ſurprized at his impertinence, I nevertheleſs deſired him very civilly to permit me to dine in that chamber; a propoſal which he received grumbling, and was followed by a refuſal ſtill leſs polite. That moment three of my gentlemen, my pages, and ſome footmen, entering the room, my brutal companion thought fit to ſoften his looks and words, pulled off his hat, and offered me every thing in his power: then ſuddenly, eying me with a fixed regard, aſked me, with a wild air, where I was going? I told him to meet the king: "What, ſir," he replied, "has the king "ſent for you? Pray tell me on what day and hour "you received his letters, and alſo at what hour you "ſet out?"

It was not difficult to diſcover an aſtrologer by theſe queſtions, which he aſked me with an invincible gravity. I was farther obliged to tell him my age, and to allow him to look into my hands. After all theſe ceremonies were over, "Sir;" ſaid he, with a air of ſurprize and reſpect, "I "will reſign my chamber to you very willingly, and before it be long, many more perſons "will quit their places to you with more regret than I "do

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"do mine." The more I pretended to be aſtoniſhed at his great abilities, the more he endeavoured to give me proofs of them; he promiſed me riches, honours, and power (aſtrologers are ſeldom niggards) and added, that if I would inform him of the hour of my birth, he would tell me all that had or ever would happen to me; but without deſiring to know my name, or telling me his, he thought proper, after theſe words, to leave me precipitately, excuſing himſelf for not ſtaying longer with me, upon the neceſſity he was under to carry ſome papers immediately to his advocate and procurator. I made no efforts to detain; but it was not the ſame with my people, whom I perceived to be ſeized with fear and reſpect at every word this madman uttered. I diverted my wife with an account of this little adventure in the firſt letter I wrote to her.

In the evening I arrived at Maubuiſſon, which ſerves for a ſuburb to Pontoiſe: there I met madam de Liancourt, with whom I took the road next day to Clermont. I rode about ſeven or eight hundred paces before the litter in which this lady was, and which was followed at ſome diſtance by a great unwieldy coach that carried her women; before and behind this coach marched ſeveral mules loaded with baggage. About a league from Clermont, where the road was very narrow, a ſteep hill on one ſide, and a hanging valley on the other, leaving only room enough for two carriages to go a-breaſt; the coachman alighting upon ſome occaſion or other, one of the mules paſſing near the ſide of the coach, after it ſtopped, by its neighing, and the ſound of its bells, ſo terrified the horſes, which unfortunately happened to be young and ſkittiſh, that, taking the bit between their teeth, they drew the coach along with ſuch rapidity, that meeting with two other mules, they overturned them in their courſe. The women within, ſeeing a thouſand abyſſes opened under their feet, apprehended their danger, and ſet forth moſt lamentable

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mentable cries. The coachman and muleteers endeavoured in vain to ſtop the horſes: they were already within fifty paces of the litter, when madam Liancourt, alarmed by the noiſe, looked out, and ſcreamed aloud; I alſo turned back, and trembling at the danger in which I ſaw this lady and her attendants, without being able to aſſiſt them on account of the diſtance I was at, "Ah! friend," ſaid I to La-Font, "the women will be daſhed in pieces, "what will become of us? and what will the king "ſay?" While I was thus ſpeaking, I puſhed my horſe forwards with all my ſtrength; but this was uſeleſs, and I ſhould have arrived too late.

By one of theſe lucky chances, and which almoſt amount to a miracle, when the danger was greateſt, the axle-tree of the little wheels coming out of the nave by a violent ſhock which broke the pegs, the two wheels fell on each ſide, and the coach to the ground, and there ſtopped; one of the hindmoſt horſes was thrown down by the ſhock, and kept in the other; the fore horſes broke their traces, and paſſed ſo cloſe to the litter, which was already at the extremity of the precipice, that it is plain if they had drawn the coach along with it, it would have been thrown over it. I ſtopped them and gave them to my domeſtics to hold, after which I flew to relieve madam de Liancourt, who was half dead with fear. I went next to the coach, and aſſiſted the women to get out of it: they were for having the coachman hanged, and I was complaiſant enough to give him two or three ſtrokes with my cane. At length their terrors being entirely diſſipated, and the carriage refitted, we reſumed our journey; and till we arrived at Clermont I continued to ride cloſe to madam de Liancourt's litter.

The king had ſet out for this place to meet his miſtreſs, and arrived there a quarter of an hour after us. I did not fail to inform him immediately of what had happened; and while I was relating this adven-

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adventure, I obſerved him attentively, and ſaw him turn pale and tremble. By theſe emotions, which I never perceived in him in the greateſt dangers, it was eaſy to gueſs the violence of his paſſion for this lady.

THE firſt moments were given to tenderneſs; after which the king conſulted with me concerning the ſtate of his affairs. That which was of moſt conſequence at preſent, was the advice he had juſt received, by a letter from Rouen, that the duke of Montpenſier, engaged more ſtrictly than ever with the factious courtiers, had formed a very dangerous deſign againſt his royal perſon (this deſign was not explained); and that he was endeavouring by all ſorts of methods, to gain himſelf dependents. The king was ſo much the more afflicted at this news, as he really loved the duke of Montpenſier; and ſince policy hindered him from marrying his ſiſter to the count of Soiſſons, or any of the princes of Lorrain, he was accuſtomed to look upon this prince as his future brother-in-law. He inſiſted that all other buſineſs being poſtponed for this, I ſhould go immediately to Rouen, and there either prevail upon the duke of Montpenſier to return to his duty, or diſconcert all his projects.

I STAID ſix days at Rouen, and during that time I had ſufficient reaſon to be convinced that the imputations againſt this prince were abſolutely falſe, and an artifice of thoſe who ſought to throw the government into confuſion. The duke of Montpenſier, whoſe ſentiments were very different from thoſe they accuſed him of, ſuffered nothing to appear either in his actions or diſcourſe, but what proved a ſtrict attachment to the king. Thoſe perſons with whom he had had the cloſeſt connexions, durſt not in his preſence avow any principle contrary to his, and had no hope of ever gaining him. One day when he did me the honour to invite me to dine with him, he talked to me of his reſolution to continue inviolable in his duty to the king, with a candour and freedom which thoſe who knew him are ſenſible

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he would not have been capable of had he been conſcious of any ſecret guilt; and although he did not ſeek to juſtify himſelf, yet innocence carries along with it certain ſilent proofs, which cannot be reſiſted. He embraced me ſeveral times as a man who was dear to him by being faithfully devoted to the king; and on that account promiſed me his friendſhip, of which I have ſince had many inſtances. I mentioned to him his marriage with the princeſs Catherine, as an affair in which the king was as ſolicitous for his ſucceſs as he could be. He confeſſed to me that he had never deſired any thing with ſo much ardour as the poſſeſſion of this princeſs, but that he durſt not flatter himſelf with a hope of obtaining her, ſince he had not qualities, he ſaid, capable of gaining her heart, or of ſubduing the aſcendant the count of Soiſſons had over him. I remained entirely ſatisfied with the duke of Montpenſier's ſentiments, and reſolved to give a good account of them to the king. The remainder of the time I ſtaid at Rouen I employed in renewing my former friendſhips with ſeveral perſons, among whom were the firſt preſident de Boquemare, meſſieurs de Lanquetot, de Gremonville, de Bourgtheroulde, de Berniere, all members of the parliament; the abbots de Tiron, and Martinbault; the ſieurs de Motteville, des Hameaux, de Meſnil, captain of the old palace; de la Haulle, de Menen count du Meſnilbaſil, and others, by whom I was treated, and whom I treated in my turn. I lodged with la Pile, one of my particular friends.

I FOUND the king ſtill at Amiens †, where a few days after arrived deputies from the principal cities of Provence, and Languedoc, whoſe compliments and harangues his majeſty received with his accuſtomed goodneſs. The deputy from Marſeilles

† The deputies of the town of Amiens ſpeaking to him, in their addreſs, of Henry III's goodneſs. "Yes," ſays he to them, "he "was a good prince, but he was afraid of you; and for my part I "neither fear nor love you." Le Grain Decade d'Henry le Grand, liv. x.

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was heard with moſt pleaſure, as he ſpoke for a city ſo ancient, and at all times ſo faithful to its ſovereigns.

THE king being not only undeceived by my report of the duke of Montpenſier, but alſo more than ever convinced of his affection, reſolved to make one effort more in his favour; and unfortunately I was the perſon whom he fixed upon to diſcharge this new commiſſion. Having ſent for me one night to his bedſide, he told me, that under a pretence of viſiting the princeſs Catherine, I muſt go and endeavour to prevail upon her to give the duke of Montpenſier that place in her heart which the count of Soiſſons *, notwithſtanding the ſacrifice of the marriage contract, ſtill poſſeſſed. After what had happened to me at Chartres upon this occaſion, I thought it raſhneſs to embark in an affair in which it was impoſſible to ſucceed. I conjured the king not to expoſe me, by this new attempt, to the eternal hatred of this princeſs, and the count. My intreaties, preſſing as they were, had no effect: he anſwered me only with the proverb, *a good maſter, a bold ſervant*; and I had nothing for it but obedience.

MY laſt reſource was to demand my commiſſion in writing, that it might ſecure me againſt the fate of many courtiers, who had been diſgraced for acting with blind obedience to their maſter, againſt perſons of that rank; and beſides a letter of compliment to the princeſs, I required a ſecond, in which he ſhould deduce the motives of my journey, the nature of his orders, and the manner, and arguments by which he deſired I ſhould enforce them. When I made this propoſal, the king, always tenacious of what concerned his honour, replied that his greateſt enemies never demanded more ſecurity than his word. I anſwered by aſſuring him that I would never make uſe of it but at the laſt extremity; and that if the

* She uſed to ſay to ſuch as ſpoke to her on the king's part: "Above all things, I will have my count." Matthieu, tom. II. liv. ii. p. 628.

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princeſs

princeſs ſhould appear diſpoſed to comply with his deſires, provided I could convince her that I acted ſolely by his authority, this writing would then be neceſſary. The king yielded to this laſt argument; and being furniſhed with this authentic piece, I took the road to Fontainebleau, where the princeſs then was, extremely perplexed with the part I had undertaken.

I STAID only a day at Paris, from whence I went to the princeſs, who expected me with impatience, the king having informed her ſome days before by Loménie of my intended journey, without explaining the occaſion of it. She had flattered herſelf (for love, if it fears all, hopes all likewiſe) that I might poſſibly be come to make the count of Soiſſons happy; and this thought made me happy alſo, as long as it laſted, which was the two firſt days; for thoſe I thought neceſſary to give to civility and compliments. She altered her behaviour on the third, when ſhe found that I only introduced the ſubject of her love to declare to her that the count of Soiſſons had, by his imprudent conduct, incenſed the king to ſuch a degree, that ſhe ought no longer to think of making him her huſband: for I judged it proper to begin by removing one, before I endeavoured to introduce the other.

ALTHOUGH, in ſpeaking of the count of Soiſſons, I made uſe of the gentleſt terms my imagination could furniſh me with, he had in the princeſs ſo ardent a defender, that in her anſwer ſhe intermingled the harſheſt epithets, and menaces of depriving me of the king's favour. Aſtoniſhed at a rage ſo ſudden and violent, I thought of nothing but appeaſing her, otherwiſe my commiſſion would have that moment been at an end. I therefore intreated her to hear me, and began a tedious ſpeech, of which I knew not myſelf the end: and firſt I introduced a long and eloquent proteſtation of my reſpect, attachment, and earneſt deſire to ſerve her; during which I racked

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my imagination in vain, to furnish me with the means of calming her mind, since what it was most necessary she should hear, namely the count of Soissons' insolent behaviour to the king, was precisely that which would enrage her the most. I ventured however to break through this difficulty, and conjured her to reflect seriously whether this prince had, by his whole conduct, deserved that the king should be solicitous to raise his fortune. It was the hope only that a discourse, whose beginning was so disagreeable, would end in a manner favourable to her passion, that obliged the princess to give any attention to me; which I judged by those emotions of anger and disdain which overspread her face alternately with blushes and paleness.

I CONTINUED to lay before her, with all the moderation imaginable, the many causes of ill-will which the count had given the king, particularly his behaviour in Burgundy, certainly inexcusable even in the eyes of a mistress. I used however the precaution to repeat frequently, that, for my own part, I believed the count to be very distant from those sentiments which his conduct gave room to attribute to him: I dwelt upon the consequences it must unavoidably have, at a time when a process was actually commenced against the princess of Condé, by which the prince her son, still a huguenot, lived uncertain of his state, in a kind of banishment at Rochelle. This affair being of the number of those in which justice alone was not sufficient, the friends of the young prince would have found it difficult to have scattered those accusations against the mother, and secured to the son his rank of first prince of the blood and presumptive heir to the crown, if the king, by suppressing the instruments of the process, as he did at last, had not interested himself in the justification of the one, and the defence of the other. I made the princess sensible that the count was master of his own fate, but that he made so bad an use of the king's

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favourable disposítions towards him, that he would infallibly oblige him to engage in the interests of his rival. In short, I said enough to have made any other think he was greatly to be blamed.

The princess, who during this discourse, had fallen into a reverie, occasioned more by vexation than prudent reflections, interrupted me here, to hasten to that conclusion which I had given her a favourable hint of, and which seemed farther off in proportion as I lengthened my speech. But having once begun, she was not sufficiently mistress of herself to stop where she intended; and giving way to the rage that filled her heart, she fell upon me a second time, who, she said, only sought to deceive her, and upon the king her brother, "who loves me so much," said she ironically, "that he cannot resolve to get "rid of me;" and as a proof entered into a long enumeration of her lovers; amongst whom it would have been easy to prove that she had missed of an establishment through her own fault, as when she refused the king of Scotland. In the course of her complaints she neither spared the queen her mother, nor king Henry the third, who, she said, had all conspired to keep her single. Her stock of rancour being almost exhausted by so many invectives, the softer passion took its place, and naturally turned her thoughts on the count of Soissons; a subject which she treated not less amply, but in a manner very different from the former.

At length, recollecting that her design by interrupting me was to hear that advice by which, I told her, all past errors might be repaired, she asked me positively what that advice was, but with the same tone of malignant raillery; by which I was still better convinced that her mind was irritated beyond the power of human eloquence to cure: but pressed by the question, I replied, "By the count of Soissons' "doing the very contrary of what he has hitherto "done." The observations I made while I pronounced

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nounced these few words, were sufficient to persuade me, that it would be to no purpose to propose the duke of Montpensier to her; I therefore looked upon my commission to be at an end, or rather absolutely useless, and all I aimed at now was to draw myself out of this embarrassment by expressions so vague and general, that the princess might not take any advantage of me, nor afterwards maintain that I had failed in my promise to her. Nothing is more easy than this kind of discourse. I entered at first upon the necessary duties of crowned heads, and expatiated long upon the subject; from whence, however, I drew no other inference, but that the king could not be reproached with any failure of his. This introduced another set discourse, divided into several parts, wherein Henry's gentleness of disposition was not slightly discussed; and to conclude by something still clearer, since the princess, contrary to my expectations, had patience enough to listen to so tedious an harangue, I assured her, in a few words, that Henry's temper was such, that I was confident he would be easily prevailed upon to consent to every thing that was reasonable.

THE princess, surprized at so precipitate a conclusion, asked me, indeed with some appearance of reason, if I had nothing more to say to her; for it is certain, that I had gone a great way about to little purpose: I replied, that I had still a great many things to add. This long conversation having lasted till night, I depended upon having wearied the princess so much, that she would take an absolute leave of me; but I was mistaken; she gave me only till the next day to satisfy her demands, and left me with a sullen and malignant air, accompanied with a glance, and some interjections, which I heard as I went out, upon the part I had played at Chartres; from whence I drew a very unfavourable presage.

I SHOULD have been the most presumptuous of all men, if, after this, could have flattered myself with

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being able to bring her to the point we desired. Indeed I was so far from entertaining such a thought, that I should have been rejoiced, if the princess, in quitting me, had commanded me never to appear before her again. I went however to wait upon her at the appointed hour, which was after she had dined. She had repaired to her cabinet earlier than usual, and continued there shut up conferring with the ladies de Rohan, de la Guiche, de la Barre, and de Neufvy, from none of whom I had the least reason to expect any good offices. I waited in her chamber, talking to the ladies de Gratains, and Pangeac, and two other young ladies, who were as much inclined to favour me as the others to do the contrary. I told them, that I should not have been sorry, if they had been in the princess's cabinet instead of those ladies that were then with her, who, I was persuaded, were that very moment giving her very bad advice. They told me I ought not to imagine so, but in a tone that confirmed me in my opinion.

It was an hour at least, before the princess came out; she had been all this time preparing herself, and, perceiving me, told me that she was going to give me her answer; the purport of which it was not difficult to guess, by the cold yet contemptuous air with which she pronounced those words. I followed her, in great uneasiness; but she spared me the pain of speaking first, by telling me that she acquitted me of all I had promised to inform her of, and that now I had nothing to do but to hear her in my turn: then assuming an air still more haughty and contemptuous, she treated me in the presence of all those witnesses (I am obliged to confess it) like the basest of men, who, she said, took upon myself the character of a person of importance, and an able politician, while, in reality, I was a vile and infamous parasite, who had endeavoured to extort from her own mouth a confession of faults, which neither she nor the count had ever been guilty of, to make

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my court to the king, who was himſelf aſhamed of the part I had acted. The princeſs could not here avoid falling into the female fault of betraying, by an exuberance of words, the reſerve ſhe had reſolved to maintain. Something which I had ſaid the evening before, relating to her conduct and that of the count of Soiſſons in Bearn, occurring to her memory, ſhe entered into an unſeaſonable juſtification of it. Pangeac was called a great loggerhead, who had not yet received his deſerts; my comment upon the duties of kings was found highly unbecoming: then recalling herſelf from this rambling ſtrain, ſhe told me, that to cloſe all with a few words, and to hinder me from boaſting of my commiſſion, ſhe gave me to underſtand, that I was raſh and imprudent to the laſt degree, to concern myſelf with the affairs of a perſon ſo far above me; I, that was only a private gentleman, whoſe higheſt honour it had been to be brought up in her family, and who, as well as all my relations, had ſubſiſted only upon the bounty of the prince of Navarre; that the fate of all thoſe who, like me, ungrateful for paſt benefits, durſt preſume to interfere betwixt perſons ſo nearly united, was to be ſacrificed ſooner or later, without the honour of having my interpoſition known to be the cauſe. From a woman theſe expreſſions might be endured, but, as the princeſs was well aſſured that no man whatever, not even the count of Soiſſons, although a prince of the blood, durſt treat me in the ſame manner, ſhe added, as the higheſt affront ſhe could think of, that all ſhe had ſaid was in the count's name as well as her own. The concluſion of this ſpeech was of a piece with all the reſt: ſhe threatened, with an exceſs of rage, to ruin me for ever with the king, by a ſingle word, and forbad me, for the future, to appear in any place where ſhe was.

I DO not believe any diſtinction of rank or ſex can authorize the uſe of terms ſo outrageous: certainly it cannot be vanity in me to repeat them; but, as

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the princeſs added endeavours to words, and obliged me to take meaſures for my own defence, in which, for the firſt time, I waved that ſubmiſſion which I owed to a princeſs, the ſiſter of my king, I cannot better prove the neceſſity I was under to take thoſe ſteps, than by faithfully relating thoſe converſations, and even the very words that were made uſe of. Although my pride ſuffered greatly by this ſhameful treatment, I had diſcretion and even policy enough, not to ſuffer it to appear; I ſay policy, for had my countenance expreſſed the leaſt emotion, or my reply the leaſt bitterneſs, the princeſs, without hearing me, would have left me in a triumph that it was neceſſary I ſhould leſſen before thoſe perſons who either took part in or were witneſſes of it.

I BEGAN therefore with the falſe timidity of a man who is ſolicitous to diſculpate himſelf; and that I might engage the princeſs to hear all I had to ſay, I told her that I was very much grieved, to find that the prejudices ſhe had conceived made her diſcover a meaning in my words that I had no intention to give them, and had drawn upon me a treatment I could not poſſibly deſerve; that it was eaſy for me to convince her how little I merited thoſe reproaches ſhe had caſt upon me; and to begin with the count of Soiſſons, ſhe knew that in all I had ſaid relating to him, I had added that, for my own part, I was abſolutely convinced of the rectitude of his intentions. By this introduction, I ſtopped the princeſs, who ſuppoſed ſhe ſhould ſoon have the pleaſure to ſee me imploring pardon at her feet.

I WENT on with the ſame compoſure to tell her, that to remove the diſpleaſure ſhe ſeemed to entertain, that a private gentleman, and one unworthy to approach her, ſhould be ſent to treat with her; I begged leave to remind her, that although, by the prodigality of my anceſtors, I was neither poſſeſſed of the eſtate nor dignities to which I had a claim, yet, however, more than a hundred thouſand crowns had been

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been carried by the daughters of my family, into the houſes of Bourbon and Auſtria ‡; and that, far from being a charge to the king ſince I had been in his ſervice, his majeſty had ſometimes given me the pleaſure to ſee him have recourſe to me in his neceſſities. I acknowledged, however, that nothing could juſtify my having exceeded his orders, if I had really been capable of doing ſo. That moment, taking another paper of the king's out of my pocket, addreſſed to the princeſs, in form of a letter, I took the advantage of the aſtoniſhment into which I had caſt her, to tell her, that to finiſh my meſſage before I quitted her for ever, I declared to her, as her ſervant, that his majeſty holding the place of her father, and being likewiſe her maſter and her king, ſhe had no other part to take than ſubmiſſion to his will; that without liſtening to any thing the count of Soiſſons could ſuggeſt, ſhe muſt reſolve either to accept of a huſband from the king her brother, or incur the loſs of his favour; that in this laſt caſe, it would be a very ſenſible mortification to her, after having held the rank of a queen, to ſee herſelf reduced to a very inconſiderable fortune, ſince ſhe was not ignorant, that beſides the preſents the king had beſtowed, in the reſignation he had made her of thoſe eſtates ſhe at preſent enjoyed, he had conſulted rather the dictates of his own heart than the laws and cuſtoms of Navarre, which would have appointed a very ſmall proviſion for her.

THESE laſt words drew the princeſs, in ſpite of herſelf, out of that ſcornful inſenſibility ſhe had affected to ſhew, to enter into the greateſt tranſport of rage that any woman could be capable of. After giving vent to all that anger could inſpire, ſhe went furiouſly into her cabinet; and I withdrew, with great compoſure, towards the ſtaircaſe, whither madam de Neufvy came running after me, to tell

‡ I refer the reader to the explanation I have given in the beginning of theſe Memoirs, about the alliances of the houſe of Bethune.

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me, that the princeſs had ſent her to demand the letter I had ſhewn her. This was a new ſtratagem of thoſe four ladies, who had perſuaded the princeſs, that ſhe would ruin me more effectually with the king, if ſhe could make it appear that I had ſacrificed his majeſty's letter. I perceived the ſnare that was laid for me, and I replied to madam de Neufvy, that I was ſurprized the princeſs, after having refuſed to hear the contents of the letter, ſhould ſend immediately to demand it. I added, that I would communicate it only to the princeſs, and read it to her, having occaſion for it myſelf. This was not what the meſſenger wanted, and ſhe returned without making me any anſwer.

I WENT that evening to Moret, where my wife then was, and ſtaying with her only one day, ſet out the next for Paris, to meet my courier, whom I had ſent from Fontainebleau with diſpatches to the king. But I was greatly ſurprized when, inſtead of him, I ſaw young Boëſſe, the princeſs's ſteward of the houſhold, arrive with a letter, at which I was ſtill more ſurprized, when I ſaw it was from the king. I knew that Boëſſe was the perſon whom ſhe ſent with her diſpatches to his majeſty. I found that this letter had been ſent open to the princeſs, and had not been tranſmitted to me till it had paſſed through her hands, and that ſhe had ſealed it with her own ſeal: all theſe circumſtances left me no room to doubt of my misfortune, which by a ſad foreboding in my mind was ſtill more confirmed, and I opened the letter trembling. My fears were but too juſt; inſtead of praiſes, and thoſe expreſſions of eſteem and confidence with which the king's letters to me were generally filled, my eyes were ſtruck with a ſevere command to make the princeſs ſatisfaction. His majeſty "could not ſuffer (theſe were his words) "that one of his ſubjects ſhould affront a princeſs, "and his ſiſter, without puniſhing him immediately "for his fault, if he did not repair it by ſubmiſſion."

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I was overwhelmed, I confeſs, with this unexpected blow, and ſo much the more, as, having no reaſon to imagine that the king had not received my letter, I ſaw that it was after he had read it that I was thus treated. What reflections did I not then make upon the misfortune of being employed in ſettling the differences of perſons of ſuch rank, and the danger of ſerving kings. I had nothing to reproach myſelf with, in regard to Henry; I had ſerved him four and twenty years with an unwearied aſſiduity, and a zeal that nothing could allay: it was with reluctance that I accepted this laſt diſagreeable commiſſion: the writing which I had obtained of the king contained many things much more ſevere than any I had ſaid to the princeſs; and I had ſuppreſſed them at a time when it would, perhaps, have been excuſable to have aggravated them. My guilt was, at moſt, a too faithful obedience; yet his majeſty ſacrificed me cruelly, without any regard to my reaſons, or his own expreſs commands. I was ſenſibly affected with this injuſtice, and all my thoughts ran upon forming ſtrong reſolutions to quit the court for ever.

But ſcarce had I taken theſe reſolutions when a thouſand motives concurred to make me change them. Henry, as I had already often proved, had acquired ſuch an empire over my will, that after repeated oaths on my ſide to quit him, a ſingle word from him has drawn me to him as it were by enchantment. To this was added the conſideration of my own intereſt: by liſtening to my reſentment I was expoſing myſelf to loſe the rewards of my long ſervices, when I was juſt upon the point of obtaining them, and at a time when, being diſinherited by the viſcount de Gand, I loſt an eſtate of fifty thouſand livres a year; exhauſted by a long and painful ſervice, having a houſe to eſtabliſh, and menaced with a numerous family by the fertility of my wife, theſe expected rewards were all my reſource, and the only foundation I had to build upon. But, on the other

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ſide, how could I endure to ſuffer, like a criminal, the haughty and contemptuous behaviour of a princeſs, with whom I had juſt before maintained a character ſo different, and who would make this cup as bitter for me as ſhe was able? The agitation and grief of my mind may be eaſily imagined.

I AT length took the moſt prudent part I could, but it was far from ſuſpending the uneaſineſs that preyed upon my ſpirits; I feigned ſickneſs, and the deep melancholy with which I was ſeized, was in reality capable of communicating to my body part of the diſorder of my mind. I diſcovered to no perſon whatever the cauſe of my grief, but ſent for a phyſician, who making me tremble for the conſequences of a diſeaſe entirely of my own framing, promiſed, however, to reſtore me to health by the force of bleeding and purges.

AT four o'clock in the afternoon another phyſician arrived, for whom the cure of my diſtemper was reſerved; this was Picaut, my courier, whom I had waited for impatiently, to take, upon the accounts he ſhould bring me, my laſt reſolutions. After informing me that he had had the misfortune to ſtrain his ankle, which was the cauſe that the princeſs's courier came to the king before him, he preſented me with a letter, in this prince's own hand-writing, which removed all my complaints. Henry told me in it, that I had reaſon to be offended with the contents of his former letter, which he had written in one of thoſe ſudden tranſports that I knew were natural to him, and upon exaggerated complaints, joined to the inſtances and importunities of his ſiſter; but that to calm my uneaſineſs, he aſſured me he would diſavow nothing I had ſaid, in which, if he failed, he would permit me to make uſe of his own letter againſt him: he concluded with theſe words, "Come to "me, that you may inform me more particularly of "all that has paſſed, and depend upon being as well "received by me as you have ever been, let who "will be angry at it. Adieu, my friend."

IN

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In this kind familiarity I knew again my old master. This letter was dated the 17th of May, and the first the 15th, and both from Amiens, for which place I set out very early in the morning, and arrived there the next day. I neither suppressed nor palliated any part of what had been said or done at Fontainebleau between the princess and me; and his majesty, by repeated expressions of friendship and esteem for me, shewed that he approved of my whole conduct.

That I may not too often interrupt the course of my history by a recital which is equally proper every where, I shall finish in a few words, all that concerns this affair. La Varenne, who was employed by the princess to take care of her interests at the court, did not fail to inform her of the good reception the king gave me, and the report that was every where spread, that the finances would be wholly confided to my care. The princess comprehended, by this news, that it was now necessary not only to renounce her vengeance, but also to be upon good terms, for the future, with a man from whose hands henceforwards all the appointments for the support of her household would proceed. Whether she was convinced that she herself was wrong, or still imputed the blame to me, she had the generosity to pardon me: and I must confess, to the honour of the princess, that in this she shewed a greatness of soul of which few persons could have been capable. If in those qualities which marked the character of this princess, we except an excess of vivacity which it was not in her power to restrain, and to which, in the affair above-mentioned, was added the force of the most impetuous of all passions, her disposition will be found naturally good and easy, capable even of the refinements of friendship, and the warmth of gratitude.

She communicated this alteration of her sentiments with regard to me to madam de Pangeac, one of my friends; and even made the first advances to

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madam de Roſny. I had left her in child-bed at Moret. When her health was perfectly re-eſtabliſhed, ſhe went one day to church at Fontainebleau, and returned without waiting upon the princeſs, under pretence of a ſlight indiſpoſition which confined her to her bed. Madam de Pangeac making her ſome reproaches, as if from herſelf, but in reality by the princeſs's orders, my wife found herſelf obliged to tell her, that the terms I was upon with the princeſs made it impoſſible for her to do herſelf that honour. At a ſecond journey which madam de Roſny made to Fontainebleau, the princeſs cauſed her to be told, that the reaſons ſhe had given madam de Pangeac ought not to prevent her coming to ſee her. Accordingly, my wife waited upon her, and had a moſt gracious reception. She confeſſed to her ſincerely, that ſhe was not yet entirely ſatisfied with my conduct, as ſhe thought ſhe had reaſon to expect a very different one, conſidering thoſe inſtances of friendſhip which I had received from her in my youth: ſhe mentioned ſeveral parties of pleaſure at Pau, or at M. de Moiſſens' *, where ſhe had done me the honour to take me with her, particularly that when running at the ring I gained the prize, which was a jewel of ſmall value, and was going to receive it from her hand, ſhe changed the jewel, and gave me one in its ſtead worth two thouſand crowns. She did not forget to mention, that my father had often carried the queen, her mother, in his arms. After all this, the princeſs very obligingly told my wife, that her reſentment againſt me had never extended to her, whoſe diſpoſition ſhe loved. She ſaid a thouſand obliging things of M. de Saint-Martin, my wife's uncle, who had been firſt gentleman of the bedchamber to the king; and of madam de Saint-Martin, the ſiſter of M. de Moiſſens, and conſequently a near relation of her own.

* Henry d'Albret, baron de Moiſſens.

MADAM

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MADAM de Roſny left her extremely well ſatisfied, and fully determined to uſe her utmoſt endeavours to reſtore me to her favour. She made no attempts this firſt viſit, but afterwards, obſerving to the princeſs the attention I ſhewed in ſettling the aſſignments for the payment of the officers of her houſhold; and repreſenting to her, that it was by repeated orders from his majeſty that I had ſubdued the reluctance I had to accept of that commiſſion which had offended her, madam de la Force, who was then at the princeſs's toilet, joined my wife; and what ſurprized me greatly, being ſupported by the ladies de Rohan and de la Barre, they prevailed upon her to ſend for me that moment. From the time that the princeſs was convinced of my innocence, ſhe had ſo great a degree of friendſhip for me as to confide all her ſecrets to me alone: ſhe propoſed and promoted with all her intereſt the marriage of my eldeſt daughter with the duke of Rohan, her neareſt relation † on the ſide of the deceaſed queen her mother, and the heir of her eſtate in Navarre. The king did not then approve of this match, though he did afterwards. And laſtly, when this princeſs ſet out for Lorrain, ſufficiently diſcontented, as it is well known, with the court of France, ſhe declared publicly, that there were only three perſons in it whom ſhe eſteemed, and that I was one of them.

HOSTILITIES between the king's party and that of the league, continued during the years 1595 and 1596, in the ſame parts of the kingdom as in the preceding years: in Britanny, between meſſieurs d'Aumont and de Saint-Luc, and the duke of Mercœur; and in the provinces in the ſouth of France,

† Henry II. of that name, duke de Rohan, &c. who married Margaret de Bethune, as ſhall be ſeen in the ſequel of theſe Memoirs, was grandſon to René I. of that name, viſcount de Rohan, and Iſabella D'Albret, daughter to John king of Navarre. See in all the genealogiſts the other alliances of this illuſtrious houſe with that of France.

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where ſeveral little ſkirmiſhes happened between meſſieurs de Ventadour, de la Rochefoucaut, de Châteauneuf, de Saint-Angel, de Loſtange, de Chambaret, and other officers on the king's ſide*; and meſſieurs de Pompadour, de Raſtignac, de Saint-Chamant, de Montpeſat, de la Chapelle Biron, and other leaguers. The defeat of the Crocans, the ſiege of Blaye, the ſacking of Agen, and the death of the duke of Rochefoucaut, are the moſt remarkable events † that happened in the Limoſin and the adjacent places. Leſdiguieres continued the war with equal ſucceſs in Dauphiné, Provence, and Piedmont; ſometimes againſt the duke of Savoy, and ſometimes againſt the duke of Epernon. The con-

* Anne de Levis, duke de Ventadour, governor of Limoſin, and lieutenant-general for the king in Languedoc: he died in 1622. Francis de la Rochefoucaut, prince of Marſillac. René de Saint-Marthe, ſieur de Châteauneuf. Charles de Rochefort de Saint-Angel. Lewis Francis de Loſtange, or Louſtange. N. de Chambaret, otherwiſe called Chambert, governor of Limoſin. Lewis viſcount Pompadour. N. de Raſtignac. John de Saint-Chamant, or Antony his brother. They afterwards were all of the king's party. Henry Des-Pres de Montpeſat. N. de Charbonniere, ſieur de la Chapelle Biron.

† Moſt of the events which the author mentions here, happened before the year 1595. The count de Rochefoucaut had been dead ſince the year 1591, having been killed, as we ſaid before, at the battle of Saint-Yrier-la-perche. The viſcount de Pompadour was likewiſe dead in 1591. The taking of Agen by the count de la Roche, ſon to marechal de Matignon, was likewiſe in the ſame year 1591. Blaye was beſieged in the year 1593, by the ſame marechal, who, notwithſtanding the defeat of a Spaniſh ſquadron, was obliged to raiſe the ſiege. The Crocans, ſo called from Croc, a village in the Limoſin, where they began to aſſemble themſelves, were alſo defeated about the ſame time by Chambert, or Chambaret, the governor of that province: and afterwards, the marechal de Matignon completed their final diſperſion and overthrow in Languedoc, more by ſtratagem than by open force. Conſult, as to all theſe events, the hiſtorians above quoted; as alſo ſee, in the particular hiſtory of the conſtable de Leſdiguieres, the expeditions of this hero, famous for the victories at Epernon, Pontcharra, Vinon, &c. and for the taking of the fort d'Exiles, of Cahors, and of a great number of other places; whereby he became maſter of all Savoy, and a part of Piedmont.

Beſides a war, France was ſore afflicted this year, 1596, with a plague and famine, which were occaſioned by the utter inverſion of the ſeaſons; for l'Etoile ſays, that there was a ſummer in April, an autumn in May, and a winter in June.

cluſions

cluſion of all theſe expeditions was the entire defeat of the duke of Savoy, who, thinking to derive ſome advantage from the diſunion of the dukes of Guiſe and Epernon, had marched as far as Provence, from whence he was ſhamefully driven back; and likewiſe that of the duke of Epernon, who yielded to his rival the duke of Guiſe, aſſiſted by the ſame Leſdiguieres, d'Ornano, and the counteſs of Sault's party was left without any reſource, and reduced to the neceſſity of imploring the king's clemency, by letters conceived in terms of the utmoſt ſubmiſſion, which his majeſty received at Gaillon. His letters were very ſoon after followed by himſelf; he came and threw himſelf at the king's feet, which was a kind of triumph for Henry, this duke's humiliation, with that of Bouillon, and de la Tremouille, being amongſt the number of thoſe things he moſt earneſtly deſired.

DURING his ſtay at Amiens, the king took ſeveral new meaſures to facilitate my being joined in the council of finances. This prince, who by an effect of the native rectitude of his own mind, could not believe it poſſible for men to be as corrupt as they really were; and by the ſweetneſs of his diſpoſition incapable of proceeding to extremities till he had tried all other methods, had for a long time imagined, that he ſhould at length bring this body to manage the revenue of the ſtate with wiſdom and œconomy; and this important reformation was not ſo difficult, but that it might be produced by the advice of one man of induſtry and integrity, whom he would aſſociate with thoſe that compoſed it. With this view he ſpoke both in public and private to meſſieurs of the council to receive me amongſt them: however great their reluctance was, they durſt not openly reject a propoſition, which being made in this manner, reſembled rather an intreaty than a command.

I CONFESS ſincerely that I was not ſo eaſily brought

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brought to yield to this medium. His majeſty, in a private converſation, told me it was his deſire I ſhould endeavour to gain the good-will of meſſieurs of the council, and, by ſome inſtances of complaiſance, remove the ſuſpicions they had entertained, that if I joined their ſociety it would be only to do them bad offices; ſo that I might engage them by my behaviour to make it their own requeſt that I ſhould be aſſociated among them. I did not heſitate a moment in replying, that this appeared to me to be the worſt way imaginable of being introduced into the council of the finances, to owe it as an obligation to thoſe who governed them; and knowing ſo well as I did the diſpoſitions of this ſociety, I could not ſerve them and the ſtate at the ſame time. The king, who did not like to be contradicted, and who likewiſe remembered my diſputes with the duke of Nevers, ſuppoſed I had ſtill ſome remains of reſentment againſt thoſe gentlemen, and thought he perceived a kind of haughtineſs in my anſwer, and a tenaciouſneſs of my own opinion, told me, with ſome quickneſs, that he had no deſire to irritate every one upon my account; therefore without making any more attempts to bring me into the finances, he would ſeek for ſome other employment for me, ſince he knew I could not continue in a ſtate of inactivity.

He had ſtill ſome remains of diſpleaſure in his countenance when he quitted me to viſit madam de Liancourt, who enquiring the cauſe, repreſented to him, that he would never be ſerved with fidelity till he found a man who, from a regard only to the public good, would not fear to draw upon himſelf the hatred of the financiers. As for me, I looked upon my engaging in the finances as farther off than ever; and reflecting that my employment would henceforwards be reduced to treaties and negotiations, an office which ſeldom fails to bring certain ruin upon any man who would maintain his rank in it with dignity,

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dignity, and his reputation with honour, I resolved to explain myself to his majesty, and prevail upon him to approve of a scheme that would at least secure to me the reimbursement of all my expences. But Henry did not give me time to make this proposal to him: when I approached, he told me, that upon the representation madam de Liancourt had made him, he was now brought over to my opinion, and that without any longer delay, he was going to declare his intentions publicly, after having, for form's sake, imparted them first to the constable and Villeroi, to whom it belonged to dispatch my patents. These two gentlemen came very seasonably into the king's apartment, and received this order; the constable by a bow, and Villeroi by saying, he would give me the patents as soon as he could meet with a precedent of the proper form.

In the afternoon, when the king was gone to hunt, I went to make my acknowledgments to the marchioness de Monceaux (for this was the title that madam de Liancourt had lately taken); after which I thought I was obliged, in civility, to visit monsieur de Villeroi, of whom, instead of the patents, I asked for a warrant, which would have answered the same purpose. Villeroi made an evasive reply, and during three or four days that I pressed him, always deferred the affair on various pretences till the next day. At last, the king left Amiens, to go to Monceaux, and passed by Liancourt, where Liancourt, his first equerry, received and treated him very splendidly. It was in this place that they determined to use their utmost efforts against me.

Liancourt, at Villeroi's solicitation, invited the chancellor, who was his intimate friend, and the other members of the council, who came to that place by the king's order, to stay at his house during the king's residence there. They took advantage of this opportunity, of being always near the king, to labour effectually for my exclusion from the council.

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cil. The method they made uſe of was not to attack me directly, but to inſinuate to the king, that I was not fit for this employment, in which, they ſaid, for want of that experience which only a long habitude can give, it would not be poſſible to avoid committing a thouſand faults, the leaſt of which was able to ruin, without reſource, the credit, and conſequently bring on the deſtruction, of the ſtate. Theſe diſcourſes were ſo often repeated, in the king's preſence (for they deſignedly turned the converſation upon that ſubject) and with ſo great an appearance of ſincerity, that the king was at laſt ſhaken by them, and when at the ſame time he found theſe gentlemen could with ſuch facility form the greateſt projects, diſcourſe with ſuch clearneſs upon the ſtrength and intereſts of the ſtate, calculate the revenues of it with the utmoſt exactneſs, in a word, were poſſeſſed in appearance of the whole ſcience of commerce in its full extent, and of every other method by which a ſtate is rendered flouriſhing; and eſpecially that they converſed with each other in a language hardly intelligible to any but themſelves; and influenced ſtill more by the long preparation which they repreſented as abſolutely neceſſary before any one could be received into the council, he thought that the preſent bad ſtate of the finances was not the greateſt misfortune with which they were threatened. His majeſty likewiſe looking upon all this as a proof of their repentance, and from the apprehenſions he had juſt given them expecting to ſee a very great alteration in their conduct, no longer entertained a deſign of aſſociating me amongſt them.

VILLEROI, who during this time continued at Amiens, yet was not the leſs informed of all the meaſures taken by a body whom he directed as he pleaſed, ſeized this opportunity to ſend my patents to the king, which he could not diſpenſe with himſelf from diſpatching, after the expreſs orders he had received from his majeſty. When they were tranſmitted to the

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the king, he had left Liancourt, having ſtaid there only one day, and was then at Monceaux, where, ſtill under the influence of theſe ſuggeſtions, he gave them to Beringhen, telling him to keep them without ſaying any thing to me, till he had orders to the contrary. Beringhen, who was one of my friends, diſcovered the ſecret to me, which I kept faithfully. Fifteen days paſſed in this manner. The king did not ſpeak to Beringhen about my patents, and meſſieurs of the council, blinded by their ſucceſs, inſtead of that ſincere repentance which his majeſty expected from them, gave him new proofs of their artifice and inſincerity, and ſuch groſs ones, that they forced him to cruſh them with the blow which they might, without much difficulty, have avoided.

THE king diſcovered that the council had juſt farmed out the ſubſidies of Normandy for thirty thouſand crowns, and to defraud the treaſury of this ſum, ſo much leſs than the true value of the revenues, they had applied it all to the diſcharging the old demands upon it. With a little attention, he convinced himſelf of other faults in their conduct; that the five large farms did not produce the fourth part of their value, becauſe Zamet, Gondy, and other farmers of the king's revenues, who were employed in them, being connived at by the gentlemen of the council, divided with them the immenſe profits that accrued from thoſe farms. The avarice of theſe people was not yet ſated, and, under pretence of the loſſes at Calais, Cambray, Ardres, &c. they allowed ſuch drawbacks upon all the other parts of the king's revenues, that, inſtead of increaſing, they grew perceptibly leſs. The king, amidſt that juſt indignation which this knowledge inſpired, ſent for me, and commanded me to go to Paris, to enquire from whence ſo great a diſſipation of the money proceeded, which could only take its riſe from the council. I replied, that his majeſty having, without doubt, revoked the order he had given to Villeroi,

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to dispatch my patents, since I had not received them, I had no right to mix with the council, or to meddle with the affairs transacted by it. "How!" said Henry, concealing his consciousness of this reproach, "then Beringhen has not given you your patents, "and a letter from Villeroi, which he has had these "fifteen days: you see this heavy German would "have forgot them." While, by the king's orders, I went to make preparations for my journey, that I might reach Claye that evening, his majesty spoke to Beringhen, who consented to take all the blame upon himself. During this interval, a thought came into my head, which I communicated to the king when I returned to receive his last orders. I told him, that I thought it would be necessary for me to go, before the day appointed for the opening of the states, to some of the principal districts of the kingdom, to procure there a more certain account of the present state of his majesty's revenues, the diminution they had suffered, and the augmentations they would admit of, to the end that his majesty might regulate his demands upon the states according to this scheme, which, however imperfect, might still, in proportion, throw some light upon the strength of the more distant districts, and consequently upon the whole kingdom: that, besides this advantage, I did not despair of procuring for him, in those districts only which I could visit, the three or four hundred thousand crowns which he had demanded in vain of the council. I thought it would be useless, and even imprudent, to take upon myself to make this examination, without such an instrument as appeared to me to be the most effectual means to prevent my being deceived, which was a full power from the king to suspend the contumacious receivers and overseers from the exercise of their office, or even to discard them entirely, and to reward the integrity of those who had been zealous for his majesty's service.

HENRY

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HENRY approved of the essential part of this scheme, but altered something of the manner in which it was to be proposed to the council. He was of opinion that I should take such measures in offering this advice to them, that those who most valued themselves upon the strength of their genius, such as Sancy, Schomberg, Fresne, and la-Grange-leroi, might seize the hint first themselves, and so pass, at least in part, for the authors of it; and likewise, that each one in the company might flatter himself that this commission would be given to him, or through his means, to the intendants and masters of requests, who were wholly at his devotion. Nothing could be more prudent than this medium, which gratified alike the vanity of some, and the avarice of all. Accordingly I took my place in the council, where, by a miracle, to be found only in courts, my collegues, who inwardly pined with vexation, suffered nothing but joy to appear in their countenances, words, and behaviour. I was almost deceived myself by that profusion of praises with which the chancellor loaded me, and the manner in which he told me I had been expected by them with the utmost impatience: such is the art of courtiers; they settle it amongst themselves, that however grosly they play the counterfeit, they shall not laugh at each other.

THE treaty with the duke of Maïenne, which had been agreed upon some time before, was concluded during the king's stay at Monceaux. When the king was at Amiens, the duke had sent a man to him named d'Estienne, to know what place would be agreeable to his majesty, for him to come and pay him his respects, and the king appointed Monceaux, in consideration of the duke's indisposition, which would not permit him to make longer journies than from Amiens to Soissons, where he resided*. The king

* L'Etoile tells the story otherwise: but in this the duke de Sully is more to be depended upon. Perefixe has likewise been mistaken in placing this interview in 1595. See the Chronol. Novenn. liv. viii. p. 599.

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was walking in his park, attended only by me, and holding my hand, when the duke of Maïenne arrived, who put one knee to the ground, with the loweſt ſubmiſſions, and added to a promiſe of inviolable fidelity his acknowledgments to his majeſty for having forced him, he ſaid, from the arrogance of the Spaniards, and the ſubtilty of the Italians. Henry, who as ſoon as he ſaw him approach, had advanced to meet him, embraced him thrice, and, forcing him to riſe, embraced him again with that goodneſs which he never with-held from a ſubject that returned to his duty; then taking his hand, he made him walk with him in his park, converſing with him familiarly upon the embelliſhments he deſigned to make in it. The king walked ſo faſt, that the duke of Maïenne, equally fatigued by his ſciatica, his fat, and the heat of the weather, ſuffered great torments without daring to complain. The king perceiving it, by the duke's being red and in ſweat, whiſpered me, "If I walk longer, ſaid he, with this corpu-"lent body, I ſhall revenge myſelf upon him, with-"out any great difficulty, for all the miſchiefs he "has done us." Then turning to the duke of Maïenne, "Tell me truly, couſin," purſued he, "do I not walk a little too faſt for you?" The duke replied, that he was almoſt ſtifled; and that, if his majeſty walked but a very little while longer, he would kill him without deſigning it. "Hold there, "couſin," replied the king with a ſmile, embracing him again, and lightly tapping his ſhoulder, "for "this is all the vengeance you will ever receive from "me?" The duke of Maïenne, ſenſibly affected with this frank behaviour, attempted to kneel and kiſs the hand his majeſty gave him; and proteſted that he would henceforward ſerve him even againſt his own children. "I believe it," ſaid Henry; "and that you may love and ſerve me a long time, "go to the caſtle and reſt and refreſh yourſelf, for "you have much need of it. I will give you a couple

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"couple of bottles of Arbois wine, for I know "you do not hate it: here is Rosny, whom I re- "sign to accompany you; he shall do the honours "of my house, and attend you to your chamber; "he is one of my oldest servants, and one of those "who is most rejoiced at your resolving to serve, "and love me affectionately." The king continuing his walk, left me with the duke of Maïenne, whom I conducted to a summer-house to repose himself, and afterwards attended him to his horse, as much satisfied with the king and I as we were both with him.

THE king thought Monceaux so agreeable a place, that he staid there longer than he had at first intended: he sent for the constable and Villeroi from Amiens, and ordered the council of the finances to reside at Meaux, for the conveniency of his receiving commands. I had not yet proposed in it my scheme of visiting the districts. His majesty, being convinced that it must have good consequences, took upon himself the care of proposing it. At the first hint he gave of it, the counsellors, who thought none but themselves could be designed for this employment, and each of whom was attentive to his own particular interest, without prejudicing that of the society in general, approved of the design; but were greatly surprized, when they found that, amongst them all, the king only named la Grange-le-roi for this purpose, and appointed him two districts: his majesty filled up the other commissions with the names of messieurs de Caumartin * and Bizouze, for two districts each; and with those of the other two masters of requests, for one district each: four of the chief and most extensive ones were assigned

* Louis le Fevre, seigneur de Caumartin, was sent into the Lionnois, Berry, and Auvergne: we shall speak of him hereafter. He was keeper of the seals in 1622, after the death of M. de Vic, and died the following year, in the seventy-second year of his age. He had the same elogiums given him by historians as M. Sully bestows on him in the sequel.

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to

to me. The gentlemen of the council began now to repent that they had not hindered the execution of a plan, which would produce a full proof of their injuſtice: they united their utmoſt endeavours to render it uſeleſs, or at leaſt to traverſe it as much as poſſible. Their malice was all directed againſt me; for by the confidence the king placed in me, and the part I had acted in this affair, they gueſſed the truth. I was accuſed of ignorance, raſhneſs, and obſtinacy, and other faults ſtill more glaring; and had no ſooner begun to exerciſe the duties of my employment, than I perceived that, by an effect of their foreſight, they had taken all the neceſſary meaſures with the treaſurers of France, the receivers general and particular comptrollers, clerks, and the loweſt officers in the revenue. Theſe people, almoſt all of whom had either ſold, or blindly devoted themſelves to their wills, were ready to do whatever was required of them; ſome abſented themſelves, and left their offices ſhut up; others preſented me with a ſtate of their accounts, drawn up with all that art which may be expected from men who make a ſcience of roguery: others contented themſelves with ſhewing me the orders of meſſieurs de Freſne, d'Incarville, and des Barreaux, by which they were forbid to communicate their regiſters and accounts to any perſon whatever.

To this exceſs of malice I at firſt oppoſed only patience and gentleneſs. I exhorted, I endeavoured to perſuade, upon the principles of honour and juſtice, perſons who were ſtrangers to both: afterwards, I cauſed a report to be ſpread, that the deſign of aſſembling the ſtates of the kingdom was to ſuppreſs that great number of offices and clerkſhips, eſpecially the treaſury, the leaſt uſeful of all the ſocieties, yet the moſt difficult to manage; and that none were to be continued in their places but thoſe who made themſelves worthy of that diſtinction, by a ſincerity, which, on this occaſion, would prove their

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their regard to the public good. This threat producing no effect upon persons who were secretly supported by the council itself, I was obliged to make use of the power I had received, and interdicted most of these dangerous officers, causing the duties of their employment to be exercised by two out of each body, whom I chose amongst all those that appeared to have the best principles. By these means I made myself master of all the registers and accounts, which served me for a clue to enter that labyrinth of impositions and robberies.

WHAT a scene had I there before me! It would be vain to attempt an account of the tricks and subtilties of this mischievous trade, or an enumeration of concealments, forgeries, misrepresentations, and productions of the same evidences, to serve different purposes; not to mention the contrivance of an artificial confusion, thro' which those wretches see with great clearness, though, to every other eye, all is darkness and inextricable perplexity. I content myself with remarking that, by clearing only two old accounts, and bringing together the receipts and letters of exchange for the year current, and the year preceding, I easily collected more than five hundred thousand crowns, which was lost to the king. It may be judged what a sum would have been raised, if, from all those who were thus employed, a rigorous restitution had been demanded of all that they fraudulently gained in so long a course of dishonesty, out of the different sums that had passed their fingers, since only from assignments for old debts, arrears of long standing, and orders payable to the bearer, so much money was recovered. My partners were not as fortunate or as exact as myself; all, except Caumartin, who brought the king two hundred thousand livres, paid his majesty only in long memorials of improvements to be made in the farming his revenues; yet the king had chosen these persons with the greatest care. But it is not sur-

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priſing that they ſhould act in this manner, for to dare the hatred of a ſociety ſo powerful as that of the financiers in France, to be proof againſt the preſents and allurements, againſt the turns and artifices of all their dependents, the greateſt part of whom do not want underſtanding, and make uſe of it only to dazzle, corrupt, and deceive, requires a degree of courage and fortitude of which few perſons are capable.

MEAN time the gentlemen of the council, who had intelligence of all my proceedings in the provinces, were in a ſituation that may be eaſily imagined: unleſs they found means to render all my endeavours uſeleſs, or to ruin me before my return, their reputation and intereſt would be entirely loſt. My abſence afforded them all the conveniency they could wiſh for to proſecute this deſign; every thing that malice could ſuggeſt was ſaid and done, by them and their emiſſaries, to prejudice the king againſt me: they never mentioned me but as a tyrant, who drained the people of all their ſubſiſtence, by the moſt cruel extortions, without procuring any advantage to the king; ſince the ſums with which I took ſuch pains to fill his treaſury, being deſigned for the payment of penſions to the princes of the blood, and ſalaries of the great officers of the crown, they would be only placed in his coffers, to be taken out again immediately. Notwithſtanding the invectives and impoſtures of this dreadful cabal, none of whoſe practices againſt me I was unacquainted with, I continued to perform my duty; and they had no other effect than to increaſe my diligence in the execution of my plan, and my precaution in taking ſuch meaſures as would effectually put a ſtop to their accuſations.

HENRY, who had at firſt given no credit to their reports, beginning afterwards to apprehend ſome bad conſequences from my inexperience in thoſe affairs, deſired me, in his letters, to return as ſoon as

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poſſible: but, at length, when my enemies had made their party ſo ſtrong, that there was a general outcry againſt me at court, the king was prevailed upon to believe that I ſhould uſe the power I was poſſeſſed of with a ſeverity that would make even him odious to the people; and then, inſtead of an invitation, I received an abſolute order to return to Paris. I obeyed without murmuring, tho' greatly concerned to be thus ſtopped in the midſt of my endeavours for his ſervice. I cauſed the accounts of my four diſtricts to be immediately drawn up, and ſigned by eight receivers-general; and not having time to convert the fifteen hundred thouſand crowns I had raiſed in a leſs bulky coin, I loaded ſeventy carts with them, making the eight receivers-general accompany them, under the guard of a provoſt and thirty of the marſhalſeamen, who conducted them to Rouen, where the king then was, on account of the opening of the ſtates.

Of all the ſlanders which had been invented by the gentlemen of the council, to procure my diſgrace, none ſeemed to them ſo ſpecious as to make the king believe, that I had filled the priſons with the officers and clerks of his finances; to which they thought fit to add that, through an inſolent vanity, I brought along fifty of the principal ones bound in my train. The king, who ſuſpected no falſhood in ſo poſitive a charge, received me, when on my arrival at Rouen I went to pay him my reſpects, with an air that convinced me my enemies had been very active in their endeavours to hurt me. He did me the honour indeed to embrace me, but with a coldneſs and reſerve which were not uſual with him. He aſked me why I had given myſelf the uſeleſs trouble of bringing money along with me, which I knew belonged to perſons whom he had no inclination to diſoblige; and was greatly ſurpriſed to hear that not one denier of it was due to the princes of the blood, nor to any of the penſionaries

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of the ſtate, who were all paid the April quarter, and would be likewiſe as exactly thoſe of July and October, ſince I had not taken up any of the payments beforehand. The king, after obliging me to repeat theſe words ſeveral times, and even to ſwear to the truth of them, broke into an exclamation againſt thoſe wicked detractors, and impudent impoſtors, as he called them; "but," added he, "what do you intend to do with the receivers and "officers, whom you keep priſoners in your train?" The aſtoniſhment into which this queſtion threw me, was alone ſufficient to convince the king of the falſhood of this accuſation; nor was it difficult for me to perceive that moment, that the malice of meſſieurs of the council would recoil on themſelves; and that it would diſcloſe more effectually the ſecret motives of their conduct than any thing I could ſay to him. His majeſty required no other explanation from me; on the contrary, he loaded me with praiſes, and gave me a thouſand proofs of his friendſhip and eſteem.

HAVING been told that the ſum I had raiſed muſt be very conſiderable, upon his aſking me what it was, I replied, that being unwilling to keep any part of it in my hands, either for my charges, expences, or penſion, that the receivers-general might find the full ſum ſpecified in the accounts, and learn from thence never to keep back any part of his revenues, his majeſty might himſelf deduct my expences from the fifteen hundred thouſand crowns which I had brought him. A ſum ſo conſiderable gave great pleaſure to the king, who was in extreme neceſſity for money: he told me, that he would take care my expences ſhould be all paid; and that beſides my penſion of ten thouſand livres a month, which he raiſed to eighteen, he would preſent me with the ſum of ſix thouſand crowns, as a reward for the ſervice I had juſt done him. He commanded me to ſay nothing of what had paſſed between

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tween him and me, and ſent me to lay apart from the money I had brought him what was neceſſary for the payment of the ſix companies of Swiſs, at the rate of eighteen hundred crowns a company, and to give it them the next day.

I RETURNED to my carriages, which ſtood in two courts belonging to the ſieur de Martinbault, under the ſame guard that had conducted them to Rouen. I ordered them to be unloaded, and the barrels that contained the money to be placed in apartments, the locks of which were changed, and ſecured by large padlocks, with three keys to each; the two receivers had one a-piece and myſelf the third. The next morning I ſent the Swiſs officers the ten thouſand crowns that were due to them, by three clerks, eſcorted by ten of the guard.

A SHORT time after I ſent away this eſcort, Sancy, to whom the king had ſaid, that he muſt pay the Swiſs, and who was generally charged with this employment, ſent me a billet, in which he deſired me to deliver to the ſieur le Charron, the bearer, ninety thouſand crowns for the payment of the Swiſs. Theſe were the terms in which the billet was conceived; for this counſellor would have thought it a degradation of his high rank to have condeſcended to any politeneſs or explanation with his collegues. I was equally offended at the ſtiff air of this letter, and the impudent demand of a ſum that I knew to be three times more than was due; therefore anſwered the bearer haughtily, that I neither knew Sancy, his writing, nor his orders. "How! "do you not know Sancy?" ſaid Charron, ſurpriſed, no doubt, at my preſumption, for at this name the whole council trembled, the rank Sancy held in it approaching very near to that of ſuperintendant. Perceiving that I had no intention to ſend any other anſwer, he went back to report it with all the timidity of a ſervant who is apprehenſive of awakening the bad humours of his maſter. Unfortunately for

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Sancy, he repeated my meſſage before ſeveral perſons who were witneſſes likewiſe of his tranſports. "We "ſhall ſoon ſee," ſaid he, ſwearing, "whether he "knows me or not." Then after loading me with what invectives he thought fit, he went directly to Saint-Ouen to the king. "Well, Sancy," ſaid his majeſty to him, "have you been to pay our Swiſs?" "No, ſire," replied Sancy, with a ſullen air, "I "cannot go, for it does not pleaſe your monſieur "de Roſny that I ſhould, who plays the emperor "in his apartment, ſits upon his barrels of money "like an ape upon a block, and ſays he knows no "one; and I am not ſure whether you will have "more credit with him than any one elſe." "How "is this!" replied the king, "I ſee you will never "be weary of doing this man bad offices, becauſe "I confide in him and he ſerves me diligently." His majeſty added, that my refuſal was ſo much the leſs probable, as I had, by his order, agreed to give this money to the Swiſs. Sancy ſupported his aſſertion by the teſtimony of le Charron, whom he had brought along with him. The king, ſuſpecting ſome new inſtance of malignity, ordered Biart, one of the grooms of the bed-chamber, to go and fetch me.

As ſoon as he ſaw me, he aſked me what had happened between Sancy and me. "I am going to "tell you, ſire," replied I boldly: and accordingly, without fearing the leaſt reſentment from the terrible Sancy, I related all that had paſſed, in terms that ſufficiently mortified his vanity. Sancy, who was not of a temper to yield, become more inſolent than before, and aſſuming an imperious tone, an altercation ſo ſpirited enſued between us, although in the king's preſence, that his majeſty was obliged to command us to be ſilent. That inſtant, ceaſing to ſpeak to my adverſary, I turned towards the king, and intreated him to give me no ſuperior in affairs wherein I acted ſolely by his order. The gallery at Saint-

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Saint-Ouen, where this scene passed, was crouded with a great number of persons, who, being weary of Sancy's insolence, rejoiced to see him suffer this little disgrace. "It would have been very difficult," said some, as I was afterwards informed, "for two "such geniusses to have exercised the same employ- "ments, without one of them being supplanted by "the other; but in the humour the king is in at "present, the best œconomist will be his choice." Others beheld my increase of favour with envy; and others, who probably had very little regard for either of us, laughed at the novelty of the sight, and cried, "There is one hot-headed man, who "has met with another that will stick by him."

THE report of those great sums with which I had filled the king's coffers was no sooner spread, than I was overwhelmed by the demands of an infinite number of his creditors, most of whom were sent by messieurs of the council; who through impatience to see it dissipated soon, agreed with the creditors to have the usual drawbacks upon their debts. My principal view in raising this money being to make a fund for those military expeditions which the king was shortly to begin, without his being obliged to load the people with new imposts, I was resolved not to suffer it to be squandered away; and therefore resisted all their importunities, and continued unmoved by their insolence and threats. But reflecting afterwards, that there was an absolute necessity for sending home the eight receivers-general, who alone were acquainted with the uses to which I put this money, I was afraid of giving too much occasion for slander, by keeping so large a sum in my possession after their departure; and I resolved to send it to the royal treasury. The king, who thought his money no where secure but in my hands, endeavoured several times to vanquish my scruples; but in vain: I was determined to prevent the least suspicion upon this occasion, and therefore confided

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it to the care of the two treaſurers, Morfontaine and Gobelin. I removed his majeſty's fears by promiſing him that I would obſerve ſo carefully how this money was laid out, that he ſhould not ſuffer the leaſt loſs. I ſeparated, in the preſence of the receivers, thoſe ſums that were neceſſary for the payment of the army, the expence of an artillery of twenty pieces of cannon, with double equipages, a ſufficient quantity of powder, beſides a convoy of other implements neceſſary for a ſiege, ſuch as pick-axes, &c. which I cauſed to be carried to Amiens. I likewiſe laid aſide fifty thouſand crowns more for the king's privy purſe, out of which he generally beſtowed preſents, unknown to the catholics, on many old officers and proteſtant ſoldiers that had ſerved him faithfully in his wars. The remainder, which I calculated with the greateſt exactneſs, amounted ſtill to four hundred and fifty thouſand crowns, and I carefully preſerved both my former accounts, and thoſe relating to the ſums that were taken from the total. But being deſirous of having a ſecond proof of what the gentlemen of the council and their receivers-general were capable of, I affected great negligence concerning the diſpoſal of the money; and when the receivers came to me, before they ſet out for their offices, to demand a copy of my accounts, I replied, that having no longer any concern about a ſum that was now under the care of other perſons, and they having been witneſſes themſelves of the uſes to which the money had been applied, I had deſtroyed thoſe papers, as having now no further occaſion for them. This the receivers did not fail to inform their maſters of.

A MONTH was paſſed ſince the money was carried to the treaſury, during which they made ſome payments out of it that I likewiſe pretended to keep no account of: but here it was not poſſible to commit a miſtake; for no ſums being paid without a warrant from

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from the council, all that was neceſſary was, to keep an exact memorandum of it, which I did. Theſe warrants in a ſhort time amounted to fifty thouſand crowns, and conſequently there was ſtill four hundred thouſand in the treaſury. The king, however, ſome days after, demanding two hundred thouſand crowns to be ſent to Amiens, where the deſigned preparations were aleady made, particularly for the taking of Hedin, Sancy and the reſt replied, that they believed this ſum was ſtill in the treaſury, and that was all; and ſending for d'Incarville, who was likely to know beſt, having the care of the regiſters, he aſſured the king that there was hardly two hundred thouſand crowns in his coffers. His majeſty, to whom I had ſaid three days before that there was ſtill four hundred thouſand crowns remaining, was extremely ſurpriſed; but their aſſertions were ſo poſitive that they forced his belief; and he told me that I muſt certainly be miſtaken. I was ſo ſure of the contrary, that I mentioned before d'Incarville himſelf, and all my collegues, whom his majeſty had ſent for, that there was a miſtake of one half of the money. D'Incarville replied, that his regiſters were more certain than my memory; and offered to bring, the next day, an extract of all the ſums that had been paid out of the treaſury. I perceived from whence ſo great a ſecurity proceeded, and I was reſolved to ſuffer them, till the laſt moment, to flatter themſelves that they were going to gain a complete victory over me. I had courage enough to conceal, even from the king, the ſtratagem I had made uſe of, and to endure, without reply, the reproaches he made me, for letting this ſum go out of my hands, contrary to his deſire.

THE accounts were brought the next day, well atteſted, and no miſtake was found in the ſums that had been laid out; that would have been too palpable: the whole miſtake lay in the receipt, which was founded upon their full perſuaſion that I had really

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deſtroyed the papers, which proved the quantity and quality of the coin carried at different times to the royal treaſury. I ſecretly reflected with aſtoniſhment on the ſubtilty with which they had acted with regard to this receipt, ſo as to ſpread over it an obſcurity impenetrable to any one who was not poſſeſſed of a full proof of its falſhood, and with what art they had given to this obſcurity an air of truth, and even of conviction. I aſked to ſee the receipts, with a feigned ill-humour, which ſeemed to theſe gentlemen a confeſſion of my defeat. The council offered to make the receivers-general depoſe upon oath the numbers and contents of thoſe carriages which had been ſent to the royal treaſury. I replied, that the diſcuſſion would be too tedious. D'Incarville, who took great advantages of my diſſembled perplexity, told me, that I might go and examine the regiſter of the finances upon the ſpot, ſince they could not be moved out of the offices. Although I eaſily comprehended that theſe regiſters, public and authorized as they were, might ſtill be counterfeited like the reſt, yet I could not imagine the manner in which it was done, the receipt for each of the carriages being ſigned by d'Arnaud and de l'Hôte, whoſe hand-writing I knew: I had therefore a curioſity to ſee theſe regiſters: all appeared very exact, and in the uſual forms. Meſſieurs of the council began then to inſult over me, and uſed their ſuppoſed advantages very ill.

I NOW thought it time to ſilence them, and to cover them in their turn with a real confuſion. Accordingly, I produced the accounts, ſigned by the eight receivers-general; and likewiſe an exact memorandum of all the warrants. That inſtant all their arrogance vaniſhed, and they would have been reduced to the neceſſity of confeſſing their roguery, had they not bethought themſelves of a contrivance to avoid it; but ſo poor a one, as ſtill left them all the diſgrace. A clerk, inſtructed by d'Incarville, came

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came to the king, and told him, that l'Hôte, who kept the key of the hall where the regiſters lay, being abſent one day when one of the moſt conſiderable of the carriages was brought to the treaſury, and the receivers who conducted it being in haſte to return, he thought it would be ſufficient to mark the ſum contained in the carriage upon a looſe ſheet of paper, intending to make it be afterwards reviſed, and ſigned by d'Incarville, and inſerted in the regiſters; but that he himſelf afterwards going to Heudicourt, it had ſlipt out of his memory; for which he intreated his majeſty's pardon. The king contented himſelf with ſlightly reprimanding him for his neglect, ordering more care to be taken of the regiſters for the future. Then going towards the conſtable (who was at the end of the gallery where all this had paſſed, and who in the whole affair had appeared more favourable to the gentlemen of the council than me) he cried out to him at a diſtance, in the preſence of ſeveral perſons, that his money was found, and that he knew in good time thoſe in whom he ought to confide.

AMIDST theſe contentions came the day appointed for the meeting of the ſtates of the kingdom, or rather of the aſſembly of notables; that is, of perſons of conſideration; for ſo it is that they were called. The reaſon of adopting this name*, inſtead

* Perefixe ſays, that it is becauſe the king had not time to aſſemble the ſtates together: "The kings," (ſays d'Aubigné, with his uſual malevolence) "have recourſe to ſuch ſorts of aſſemblies, when "thoſe of the ſtates-general are tedious, difficult, or ſuſpected by "them. The deſign of aſſembling theſe little ſtates being to find "money to carry on the war againſt Spain, there were ſeveral ſchemes "propoſed and agreed to; the pancarte or old rate, was the chief, "which was but very ill received in many places of the kingdom, "&c." Tom. III. liv. iv. c. 14. De Thou ſays very little of it, liv. cxvii. and Davila no more. All that is ſaid in theſe Memoirs about this aſſembly is found, ſo far as I know, no where elſe: and in order to render it the more intelligible, I have taken the liberty which I have deſired in the preface to this work, and that was to compare with each other all the thoughts that the compilers of M. de Sully's manuſcripts have made uſe of in their Memoirs, without any

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of that of the ſtates of the kingdom, which ſhould naturally have been uſed, aroſe wholly from the lawyers and financiers, who perceiving that at this time they had riches and influence to give them ſuch a ſuperiority to the other claſſes, as they were unwilling any but the clergy ſhould ſhare with them, diſdained to ſee themſelves levelled with the people by one common denomination; which yet muſt have been the caſe, if the forms uſed in theſe aſſemblies, and particularly the diſtinction of the three orders, had been preſerved. They, indeed, made their appearance with magnificence and ſplendor, which ſunk the nobility, the ſoldiers, and other members of the ſtate, below conſideration, ſince they were not able to dazzle the eyes with ſpendid equipages, the glitter of gold, nor a long train of attendants; things which will always draw the envy, the reverence, and the worſhip, of the people; or, more truly, will always ſhew our depravity and folly.

SUCH, in general, is the notion that ought to be formed of theſe great, theſe auguſt aſſemblies; thoſe men whom one imagines, that they muſt come thither with minds full of wiſdom and public ſpirit, warm with all the zeal that animated the ancient legiſlators, commonly think on no other buſineſs than how to make a ridiculous diſplay of their pomp, and ſhew their effeminacy, to moſt advantage; and whoſe appearance would ſink them into infamy, if they were beheld without prejudice. To complete the notion, we muſt take in the diſcord of the ſeveral bodies which compoſe theſe aſſemblies, their contrarieties of intereſt, their oppoſition of opinion, the deſire of each to over-reach another, their

order or connexion. As we may well ſuppoſe that they were all mutually connected, and had each their proper object in the mind of this great ſtateſman, it entirely coincides with his views, to apply them to the ſubjects to which they naturally belong. And all that can be deſired is, I think, never to alter the ſubſtance of the thoughts in my original; to which I have principally applied myſelf.

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intrigues, and their confuſion; all which, together with that meanneſs diſcovered in the proſtitution of eloquence, have their original from the ſame hateful cauſe: for by ſome fatality it comes to paſs, that thoſe improvements which an age makes in knowledge above preceding times, are not applied to the advancement of virtue, nor ſerve any other purpoſe than to refine wickedneſs. It is true, that in theſe aſſemblies there may be found a ſmall number of men of great abilities and great virtues, men whoſe qualities no-body diſputes; but, inſtead of being forced into public notice, they are treated with an affectation of negligence and contempt, which ſink them into ſilence, and with them ſuppreſs the voice of the public good. Thus long experience has ſhewn, that an aſſembly of theſe ſtates rarely produces the good expected from it: for that ſuch might be its effect, the members ought to be equally inſtructed in true and honeſt policy; at leaſt, ignorance and knavery ſhould ſit dumb in the preſence of men of knowledge and integrity: but ſuch is always the character of multitudes, that for one wiſe man there are many fools, and preſumption is the conſtant attendant of folly; and it is here more than in any place, that great virtues, inſtead of exciting reſpect and emulation, provoke hatred and envy.

BESIDES, if the prince that holds theſe aſſemblies, is powerful and fond of power, he will eaſily defeat their ſchemes, or cruſh them into ſilence; but if he is weak, and unacquainted with his own rights, an unbounded licentiouſneſs of debate will ſoon ſink the kingdom into all the miſeries that naturally follow the depreſſion of the royal authority. Neceſſity therefore requires, that there ſhould be, both in the ſovereign and the ſubject, a complete knowledge of their ſeveral rights, and mutual obligations. The firſt law of a ſovereign is, that he ſhould keep the law, for he has himſelf two ſovereigns, God and the law: juſtice ought to preſide on his throne, and gentle-

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gentleneſs to ſupport it. God is the true owner of kingdoms, and monarchs are but the miniſters, who ought to exhibit to the people a true copy of the perfections of him in whoſe place they ſtand; and remember, that they do not govern like him but when they govern as fathers. In hereditary monarchies, there is an hereditary miſtake: the ſovereign is maſter of the life and property of his ſubjects, and by means of theſe few words, *Such is our pleaſure*, is diſpenſed from giving the reaſons of his conduct, and from having any reaſons to give. Suppoſing this were really the right of a king, is it not the utmoſt degree of imprudence, to incur voluntarily the hatred of thoſe who muſt every moment have his life in their hands? And hated he muſt certainly be, who forces a conceſſion of power, which he declares beforehand his intention to abuſe.

WITH regard to ſubjects, the firſt law which religion, reaſon, and nature preſcribe them, is to obey; their duty is to reverence, honour, and fear their princes, as repreſentatives of the Supreme Governor, who may be ſaid to appear viſibly on earth by theſe his miniſters, as he appears in heaven by the orbs of light. Theſe duties they are to pay from a principle of gratitude, for the ſecurity and advantages they enjoy under the ſhelter of the royal authority: for the calamity of having an unjuſt, ambitious, and arbitrary king, they have no other remedy but that of ſoftening him by ſubmiſſion, and propitiating God by prayer. All grounds of reſiſtance, however ſolid they may be thought, will appear, upon a careful examination, to be nothing more than artful and ſubtle pleas for diſloyalty; nor has it been found that, by this practice, princes have been reformed, or taxes aboliſhed; but to the calamities, which gave room for complaints, has been added a new degree of miſery, as may be found by enquiring into the ſentiments of the lower people, and particularly thoſe of the country.

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SUCH are the principles upon which the mutual happineſs of governors and ſubjects might eaſily be fixed, if in general aſſemblies of the nation, each party appeared fully convinced of the truth of theſe maxims: but, ſuppoſing this the caſe, there would ſtill be leſs need of general aſſemblies, to which recourſe is never had but when there is ſome diſagreement between the members and the head. It may, however, be concluded, that, as theſe aſſemblies are at preſent uſeleſs, both on account of the occaſions on which they are called, and of the methods in which they proceed, ſo they might be of great efficacy for the ſupport of regularity and general virtue, if the prince, acting as the real head of united members, would call them with no other purpoſe, than to oblige thoſe who lay down their employments, to give an account of their adminiſtration, in the face of the kingdom, and to chuſe, with wiſdom and diſcernment, thoſe by whom their places ſhould be ſupplied; animating them to a due diſcharge of their offices by his exhortations, and by a public diſtribution of praiſe and blame, puniſhments and rewards *.

HENRY, while he waited for the meeting of the aſſembly, took a journey to Arques, Dieppe, and Caudebec, &c. that he might have a ſight of the places where ſo many memorable actions had been performed, and I accompanied him throughout his journey.

WHEN he returned to Rouen, he opened the aſſembly, by a ſpeech, uttered with a dignity becoming a great prince, and a ſincerity with which princes are unacquainted: he declared that, to avoid all appearance of violence or compulſion, he had determined not to call an aſſembly of deputies, named by the king and blindly obſequious to all his in-

* There cannot, I think, any thing be added to the juſtneſs of theſe ſentiments. And we need only remit hither thoſe who, as Comines, Boulainvillieres, &c. have taken the ſide of the ſtates, and the ariſtocratical party.

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clinations, but that he gave an admiſſion at large to perſons of all ranks and conditions, that men of knowledge and merit might have an opportunity to propoſe, without fear, whatever they thought neceſſary for the public good; that at that time he would not attempt to confine them by any limitations, but enjoined them not to make an ill uſe of this freedom from reſtriction, by an attempt to leſſen the ſovereign authority, which is the chief ſtrength of the kingdom; and exhorted them to eſtabliſh union amongſt their members, to give eaſe to the people, to clear the royal treaſury from debts, which, though it was ſubject to them, it never had contracted; to ſhew their juſtice in reducing exorbitant ſalaries, without leſſening thoſe that were neceſſary; and to ſettle, for times to come, a fund clear of incumbrances, and ſufficient to maintain the army.

He added, that it ſhould be no objection to him, that the meaſures propoſed were not of his own contrivance, provided he found them dictated by juſtice, and public ſpirit: that they ſhould not find him pleading his age, his experience, or perſonal qualities, as an exemption from any juſt regulations, though princes often made excuſes far leſs defenſible; but that he would ſhew, by his example, that it was no leſs the buſineſs of kings to enforce edicts, than of ſubjects to obey them †.

Henry roſe after this ſpeech, declaring that nei-

† "If I were deſirous, ſays he, to paſs for an elaborate orator, I would have introduced here more fine words than good will; but my ambition aims at ſomething higher than to ſpeak well: I aſpire to the glorious titles of the deliverer and reſtorer of France. I have not called you together, as my predeceſſors have done, to oblige you blindly to approve of my will and pleaſure; I have cauſed you to be aſſembled, in order to receive your counſels, to depend upon them, and to follow them; in ſhort, to put myſelf into your hands as my guardians: this is a declaration which is not very common for kings, for grey hairs, and conquerors like me to make; but the love which I bear my ſubjects, and the extreme fondneſs which I have to preſerve my ſtate, have made me find every thing eaſy and every thing honourable." Peref. part 2.

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ther he nor his council would be present at their consultations, that they might be wholly freed from constraint; and accordingly went out with all his counsellors, leaving only me, to lay before the assembly such accounts, memoirs, and public papers, as were necessary for their information.

When I gave an account of the last assembly of these states at Paris, I spoke at large of their methods of proceeding, and the forms used in those great and numerous assemblies; and shall therefore only observe, at present, that, excepting the subject of their deliberations, this assembly resembled the former. As they were now necessarily to come to some conclusion, particularly with relation to the subsidies, and to settle the method of raising them, they could think of nothing better to be done, than to make a collection of old useless regulations of a nature contrary to the present state of affairs; instead of considering that the nation ought to be treated as a body afflicted with some new and extraordinary distemper, and therefore requiring an uncommon remedy, and that in proportion as its mechanism is better known, the operations performed upon it ought to be altered; such is the force of prejudice, that men continue obstinately to endeavour the cure of their present disorders, by means of which the inefficacy is demonstrated by their inability to prevent the evils or to stop their progress. An injudicious reverence for antiquity, a false notion of causes, occasioned by the distance of time; a want of diligent reflection on the past, and of clear views of the future, about which our self-love hinders us from coming to any agreement, all contribute to perpetuate the wrong measures of ancient times. It is a maxim with some, that laws and customs are not to be changed; a maxim to which I zealously adhere, except when the advantage, and what is much stronger, the necessity of the public † requires their alteration.

* The genius of the French nation, they say, is such, that this alone

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ACCORDINGLY they amuſed themſelves with raking old ſchemes out of the duſt, and went on ſtill enlarging the collection, which they found already to be of no value, till an impoſſibility came full in their view, and deſtroyed their project; for it appeared that theſe old conſtitutions were adapted to a form of government in which royalty, though decorated with a ſpecious title, was a ſtate of ſervitude; and could therefore not be applied to a time when the public intereſt had concentered, in a ſingle perſon, the authority which was formerly diſtributed amongſt great numbers, and eſtabliſhed monarchy as the ſureſt foundation of general ſecurity.

THIS fancy was followed by another, which held them for a time by ſome ſpecious appearances, though, in effect, it was no leſs inconvenient than the former. This was the eſtabliſhment of a new council, which they thought it proper to denominate the council of reaſon, whoſe members ſhould be firſt named by the aſſembly, and afterwards by the ſove-

lone renders all change, even the moſt uſeful and neceſſary, extremely dangerous for us: a ſyſtem, whoſe foundation it ſeems all the world, at this day, agrees was excellent, and which, notwithſtanding this, has had very troubleſome conſequences, makes us inſiſt more than ever upon this conſideration. The duke de Sully, who lived at a time in which he did not want for proofs of the defects objected to the nation, would have anſwered to this, that two things are abſolutely neceſſary in any nation whatever, in order to ſecure the ſucceſs of ſuch ſort of enterprizes: the firſt is an authority in the legiſlator, ſufficiently great not to be obliged to change, or abate the leaſt tittle of his plan through fear, or policy, or compliance: the ſecond is a wiſdom equally great, to prepare all the means for putting it in execution. Amidſt a great number of real changes that have been made in the different parts of the government, which will be ſeen in the ſequel of theſe Memoirs, we may obſerve a ſtill greater number of projects which have not yet been executed, though formed a great while ago: and what is the reaſon? why, becauſe Henry the Great and his miniſter watched and waited for the proper conjunctures and circumſtances, &c. which ſhould render them certain and infallible. I will not ſcruple to ſay, that perfect ſkill conſiſts not in imagining, but in knowing, the hazards that proceed from too great precipitation and too great ſlowneſs, to be aware of the proper opportunity; and in ſhort, to know how to conduct and how to prepare for it.

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reign courts. But there was already a council of this kind, and that very council had been apparently the cauſe of the diſorders of the finances, and the miſery of the nation. This ſignified nothing; the whole multitude ſuffered themſelves to be ſo dazzled by a fine name, and a new election, that it was propoſed, and determined, to make the ſame evil its own remedy. It was ſettled, that the new council ſhould divide into two portions the revenues of the king, which they eſtimated, without much examination, at thirty millions †; that they ſhould keep one half in their own hands, for the diſcharge of arrears, penſions, wages of offices, and other public debts and engagements; and that out of the ſame ſum they ſhould repair or make cities, buildings, roads, or other public works; and that of this ſum neither the king nor the ſovereign court ſhould have power to take cognizance, or examine the application. It may eaſily be imagined, how the members of the council flattered their rapacity by a diſpoſal abſolute and unaccountable of half the revenues of the ſtate: let us for a moment ſuppoſe them diſhoneſt in their management, what numbers muſt be diſtreſſed, what confuſion and ruin muſt enſue?

THE other part was left to the king, to be managed by him, or his miniſters, with equal exemption from account: this was burthened with all the expences of the artillery and fortifications, all foreign affairs, embaſſies, and negotiations, the ſupport of his houſhold, his buildings, and his equipage, the payment of his officers, and his privy purſe. Neither party was confined by any preſcriptions, as to the manner of raiſing or managing either ſhare of

† The author has reaſon to ſay that this computation is not exact, ſince, notwithſtanding the augmentation of the king's revenues, and the clearing of his debts that happened under his miniſtry, and which may be ſeen in the ſequel of theſe Memoirs to amount to a very conſiderable ſum, cardinal Richelieu did not value the whole revenues of the ſtate, after all the alterations which he himſelf had made, at more than thirty-five millions. Teſt. Pol. part 2. page 152.

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the revenue; ſo they preſerved that mutual independence on which the projectors valued themſelves; as if the ſtrength of the kingdom did not depend upon the power of aſſiſting, according to their reſpective need, any part that ſhould happen to be in diſtreſs, and ſupplying the ſick, if I may uſe the expreſſion, with the ſuperfluous blood of thoſe that are in health.

As the thirty millions at which the royal revenues have been rated, were ſuſpected to be ſomewhat more than their real value, they reſolved to create a new tax, by laying a penny in the ſhilling upon all merchandizes †, and proviſions bought and ſold in the kingdom, by wholeſale or retail. When they computed the amount of the trade of particular perſons, and the expences of neceſſity, convenience, and luxury, they concluded that this new tax might ſafely be rated at five millions; and the happy notion was bleſt a thouſand times, though in reality the ſcheme was no leſs chimerical than the new computation was defective ‡.

When the aſſembly had thus brought their ſcheme in all its branches to perfection, they ſent it by their deputies to the king, who received the propoſal in his council: the indignation raiſed by this project inſtantly appeared by ſuch a confuſion of out-cries and murmurs, that the king had great difficulty to make the council give their opinions one by one. The field of diſcuſſion was boundleſs; every man was made eloquent by vexa-

† Corn was the only thing that was exempted.

‡ M. de Sully thinks and ſpeaks of the eſtabliſhing a *ſou* or penny in the ſhilling, as almoſt the whole world thought and ſpoke of it at that time. Le Grain nevertheleſs gives his ſuffrage to this tax, liv. vi. Matthieu does not condemn it; and what is of greater weight, cardinal Richelieu finds it to be ſo much the more juſt, as it is eſtabliſhed, ſays he, in divers other ſtates, and had been already reſolved on by a body of the ſtate, under Francis I. However, the difficulties and inconveniences which M. de Sully mentions in the ſequel are real, and partly the ſame which made Richelieu be the firſt entirely to diſſuade Lewis XIII. from eſtabliſhing it. Teſt. Pol. part 2. ch. 9. ſect. 7.

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tion and resentment. When my turn came, I satisfied myself with saying coldly, that I had nothing to add to such fine harangues. The king, who observed me attentively, and wondered at my caution, resolved to have a private conversation with me before he gave the suffrage which was to determine for, or against the scheme of the assembly; he therefore adjourned the consideration of the affair till the morrow, in the presence of the same persons. When we were alone, he asked me with eagerness, the reason of my silence; and I made him the following observations.

It is certain, that the assembly were so infatuated with their new scheme, that if the king should follow the opinion of his council, and reject it in high terms, he would expose himself to the danger of a general dissatisfaction; the more dangerous because the states assembled acknowledged no superior, nor allowed that even the king had power to alter their decisions. One of the most important maxims of monarchy is, that the king would take care not to reduce his subjects to actions of disobedience, or even to words of disrespect; besides, the king would directly break the word, by which he had promised the assembly to conform himself to their resolutions: and to conclude, all they that contrived, or had adopted the scheme, would make the rejection of it by the king, an argument by which they would convince themselves, that this was the true scheme of affairs, till by an attempt to put it in execution they were cured of their notion, and would insinuate, that only their prince had prevented them from seeing that practice established in France, which had been for so long a time desired. Every body knows, that it is the disposition of the people, especially of those that have spirit and resentment, to abuse the actions of their sovereign.

On the other side, it was equally certain that this project was at once destructive in its tendency, and impracticable

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impracticable in its execution; to give full conviction of this the leaſt knowledge of the finances was ſufficient: beſides the obſtructions which I have juſt been mentioning, how many more muſt ariſe from the competitions which would be produced by an election of the members of the council, who were to be taken equally from all the provinces of the kingdom. No ſooner could this ſcheme, which was now only ſketched out, be branched into particulars, than that appearance of impartiality and juſtice, by which the conduct of public affairs muſt be neceſſarily thrown into the hands of new and unexperienced men, would occaſion innumerable miſcalculations and miſtakes. It was apparent that the heads of the new council would immediately grow giddy, and that all the meaſures they would take would be only blunder accumulated on blunder.

FROM the impoſſibility that any advantage ſhould ariſe from this ſcheme, I drew my arguments to perſuade the king to conſent to it; by which he would obtain, in the eye of his people, the honour of falling readily into the meaſures which they themſelves had marked out; and this condeſcenſion would be ſo far from leſſening the royal authority, that when the new council had made the melancholy experiment of their ſtrength, he would ultimately receive this advantage, that all the parts of the finances would fall back into his hands, with exemption from dependence. As the calculation of the royal revenues was made by the aſſembly, and the council ſelected from it, it would be ſuppoſed that they had taken in all neceſſary conſiderations relating to thoſe payments, of which the collection was moſt difficult and expenſive: they could not therefore take it amiſs, that the king choſe his fifteen millions of that part which he liked beſt. Chuſing for his part the revenue of the five great farms, *des parties caſuelles*, *du domaine*, *et des aides*, he might expect, without preſumption, to ſee them doubled, if not trebled, in a ſhort time.

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This I ſpoke with full confidence, becauſe I had already provided myſelf of reſponſible people, who had engaged to take theſe farms at a conſiderable advance. With reſpect to that which remained in the hands of the council of reaſon, the caſe was quite otherwiſe; and I would have been bound to the king, that the penny in the ſhilling, amongſt others, would not, when all expences were defrayed, bring in above two hundred thouſand crowns clear money.

THE reaſon why I did not give this opinion openly in the council, was, becauſe I thought it proper that it ſhould ſeem to come from the king himſelf. The king, after having heard me with great attention, was afraid leſt my advice ſhould bring him into difficulties, and into a miſtake in ſome ſort irretrievable; but having conſidered my reaſons very ſeriouſly, he reſolved to follow my opinion.

WHEN the council met next day, they determined as they did before, and I determined in the ſame manner. The king declaring that he could not follow their advice, left them in the utmoſt aſtoniſhment, and went in to the aſſembly, where he declared, in ſtrong terms, that finding himſelf diſpoſed to promote, with all his power, the inclinations of ſo wiſe a body, he received their ſcheme without any qualification or reſtriction, which he conſidered as conſiſting of three articles; the erection of an independent council, the diviſion of the public revenues, and the levy of a penny in the ſhilling; that the aſſembly had nothing to do but in twenty-four hours to name the new council; to give in a ſchedule of the thirty millions, that he might chuſe his own ſhare; and that they ſhould ſee, by his conduct, whether he or the council were the beſt œconomiſts. The goodneſs and compliance of the king were loudly praiſed; and the council finding itſelf concluded by a determination ſo unanimous, which left no farther room for debate, at leaſt between the king and his ſubjects, thought of nothing but returning to Paris, there to conclude this maſter-piece of policy.

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THE new council was not formed with ſo little diſturbance as had been expected; that change of temper which retarded the election was ſo great, that penetrating perſons ſaw from that moment how chimerical a ſcheme had been embraced by the multitude. The nomination was at laſt completed, in which the clergy were very buſy from the firſt; and the cardinal de Gondy *, famous for his œconomical abilities, was put at its head, as if public affairs were to be adminiſtered by the ſame rules as thoſe of a private houſe. The council of reaſon held their meetings regularly in the epiſcopal palace, where the cardinal had aſſigned them an apartment.

BUT no ſooner had they begun to lay papers upon the table for the collection of the payments of the next year, but theſe new money-mongers were ſo much perplexed, that they knew not on which ſide to turn them. The farther they went, the more the labyrinth was perplexed; they found nobody that would undertake for the penny in the ſhilling; the farmers aſked for other funds, but at a diſcount which put them quite at a loſs; and to add to their vexation, the buſineſs could not be put off: all the penſioners of the ſtate came upon them, and talked of nothing but millions to people that had not yet got a ſingle farthing. Chagrin and vexation ſoon broke the unanimity of the new council; they began immediately to quarrel, and reproach one another with ignorance and raſhneſs.

THE thing was come, in a few weeks, to this paſs, that the council of reaſon could do nothing reaſonably; and they were forced to apply to d'Incarville and me, and begged of us to come, at leaſt once a week, and give them ſuch counſel as we gave the king, whoſe part of the revenue they ſaw growing and flouriſhing day after day. I excuſed myſelf on

* Peter de Gondy, biſhop of Paris, and brother to Albert de Gondy duke of Retz, a peer and mareſchal of France, of whom we have ſpoken before.

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account of my employ, which took me up altogether. They then addreſſed the king; who, with his ordinary goodneſs, commanded me to go: but I did not forget, on that occaſion, what was neceſſary to his ſervice. I lamented the ſtate of the affairs of the council; I found no means of extrication, and helped forward nothing but perplexity. In ſhort, ſcarce three months had paſſed before theſe profound politicians, being at the end of all their art, and ſinking under their burden, went to the king to beg to be diſcharged. The king, whom I believe began to like this new regulation that ſet him at eaſe, told them that every thing was difficult at firſt; adviſed them to take heart, and ſent them away confuted by their own reaſons. But they ſoon came back, and changed their intreaties to importunity; confeſſed that they had been in the wrong when they undertook to govern the kingdom, and ſhewed a thouſand times more ſatisfaction on their diſmiſſion from their employment, than at their advancement to it.

THIS burden fell upon me, as an addition to that with which I was already loaded, and my labour was ſo great, that it required both my days and nights. As I had a kind of paſſion for the re-eſtabliſhment of the finances, I made prodigious advances in the ancient regiſters of the council of ſtate, the parliaments, the chambers of accounts, and the courts of aids, and even in the private accounts of the former ſecretaries of ſtate, for the new ones would not communicate theirs. I did the ſame thing in the offices of the treaſures of France, in the treaſury chamber, and in the papers of the treaſurers of the exchequer †: I raked even into that vaſt collection where all the ordinances are kept inſcribed. Having a

† "Roſny, before he entered upon this office of ſuperintendant, "had furniſhed himſelf with all the neceſſary informations, the better to be enabled to acquit himſelf therein: he perfectly knew all "the revenues of the kingdom, and all the expences neceſſary in raiſing them: he communicated all that he knew of this matter to the "king, who had in like manner ſtudied all theſe things thoroughly "himſelf." &c. Peref. p. 225.

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design to draw up a general state of the finances for the year 1595, which was the end of all my researches, I thought it fit to neglect nothing, that I might come as near as was possible, in the first year of my management, to the exactness to which I earnestly desired to carry it. Whatever fraud or mistake had crept into the finances, I imagined that it could be neither so great, nor so general, but I should be able to prove and shew its original, by comparing these pieces which I have been mentioning, or by the inferences to be drawn from them, with a due observation of the different proportions of various times and alterations of affairs.

The people of the king's council were frighted at the sight of my project, and beginning to imagine that I should throw every thing open, blamed themselves now more than ever for not having with much vigour opposed my admission into the council. Maisses, to whom I must do this justice, that as soon as he discovered my intentions he joined his endeavours with mine, gave me information of their terrors and regret. To confirm them in their suspicions, I declared in public, that I had obtained such intelligence about the finances, that they would be presently regulated upon another plan; and I desired that the comptroller-general, the intendant of the finances of France, the treasurer of the exchequer, and the receivers-general, should be joined with me, in order to draw up this general state of the finances, of which these very men were in such terror. I had the care, however, to keep the pen always between my own fingers.

However, I could not this time keep myself clear of several considerable errors, nor escape being tricked by these old practitioners. I think it is no shame to confess it; this very year they gained a profit of one fifth, which is exorbitant, though infinitely less than their ordinary gains. I proposed the next year to remedy both this and another mistake which I had committed: one of the chief tricks

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of the financiers was, to make the expence of the current year appear to be much more than the receipt, and to anticipate the revenues of the following year; by which means the expence of the next year, and of all the reſt in ſucceſſion, was thrown into a confuſion from which theſe men drew many advantages, particularly that of appearing never to have money which was not pre-engaged long before, and of being able to alledge this excuſe to the king, and all thoſe whom they were not inclined to pay. In the ſecond place, they made uſe of that money; and, to conclude, they paid off the old debts at a very low price, and yet charged them entire in their accounts. This negligence of mine coſt the kingdom this year two millions.

THIS fault I corrected the following year, during my reſidence in Brittany; ſo that from that time forward the receipts and expences exactly agreed. And in the mean time, to fill up the deficiency which my miſtake had made, I took the *parties caſuelles*, *les gabelles*, the five great farms, and the toll of the rivers, out of the hands of the duke of Florence, who held them under the names of Gondy, Senamy, Zamet, le Grand, Parent, l'Argentier, and other old managers, who had no ſhare in the new finances; and I increaſed theſe farms with two millions that had been loſt by miſcomputation. The contractors for the finances, and their aſſociates of the council, were thunderſtruck with this laſt blow; but for this time their ſpite vented itſelf in ſmoke, the king having ſupported me for ſome time in a manner ſo conſpicuous, as ſunk them all into inactive deſpondency. The conſequence of his conduct to the aſſembly was, that he was made maſter, not only of the pretended council of reaſon, but likewiſe of his own, whoſe authority was now declining; and he had no longer reaſon to fear that his deſigns would miſcarry, as formerly, by their obſtruction.

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THE design in which he was then actually engaged, was the siege of Arras, which had been proposed in the council of war, which, excepting only the secretary, consisted merely of men of action: it had there passed without opposition; but the resolution was kept secret, because only by concealment could we be assured of success. That the merchants with whom I agreed for supplies of all necessary provisions might know nothing of the matter, I named to them a great number of cities along all the frontiers of Picardy, and Arras among the rest, at any of of which they obliged themselves to deliver, during the whole campaign, fifty thousand loaves a day. Santeny, Robin de Tours, Mauleville, and Lambert, chevalier de Guet d'Orleans, engaged likewise for the conveyance of every thing else, and particularly of twenty-five cannons. The contract passed at so low a price, that if the misfortune that happened at Amiens a little after, had not obliged us to draw thither the forces designed against Arras, they would have been considerable losers: but as it happened, they made a reasonable gain.

BOOK IX.

THE preparations that were making for war, did not prevent their enjoying at Paris all the amusements that winter commonly brings along with it. The gentleness of the government secured the tranquility of the public, who tasted all the sweets of it, without any of that allay which for so long a time had imbittered all their pleasures. Gallantry, shews, play, took up the time of the courtiers; and the king, who liked these diversions through taste, permitted them through policy. Monsieur and madam de Fervaques intreated me to allow of the addresses

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dreſſes of monſieur de Laval †, the ſon of this lady, to my eldeſt daughter. I referred them to the king, without whoſe conſent I could not now diſpoſe of my daughter, ſince it had been propoſed by the princeſs, to marry her to monſieur de Rohan; with whom the king being at that time offended, approved of monſieur de Laval.

THE court every day had the pleaſure of a new entertainment, from engagements of this nature, the moſt ſplendid of which was given by the conſtable, at the ſolemnity of baptizing his ſon. This was the prétence; but it was well known, that one of the moſt beautiful young ladies of the court, and who was afterwards married to an old man, was the real object of theſe gallantries. Montmorency, amongſt all the courtiers, choſe out twelve noblemen for his ballet, who he thought would appear there with the greateſt magnificence; and prevailed upon the king to lay his commands upon me to be of this number. The elegance and propriety with which it was conducted, and which is the very eſſence of theſe ſort of diverſions, was ſuperior to any thing I had ever ſeen of the kind. This entertainment was univerſally allowed to have greatly excelled all that went before it: it was likewiſe the laſt, and a ſtrange diſturbance happened at the end. I retired about two in the morning, and had been an hour and a half in bed, when I ſaw Beringhen enter my chamber, with the utmoſt conſternation painted in his countenance: he could but juſt tell me that the king wanted me; and aſſure me, in anſwer to my enquiries, that no accident had happened to his perſon; for this was

† William de Hautemer, count de Grancey, ſeigneur de Fervaques, who afterwards became a marechal of France. His wife was Andreé d'Allegre, widow to Guy count de Laval, whoſe ſon was likewiſe called Guy, the twentieth of that name, count de Laval, de Montfort &c. who was ſome time after killed in Hungary: in him ended that branch of Laval, or rather of Rieux, which continued only in the female line: for this Guy count de Laval was of the houſe of Coligny.

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the first question I asked, and his reply comforted me beforehand for the misfortune, whatever it was, since I saw none which were absolutely irremedible, but those that threatened his life. I put on my cloaths hastily, and ran to the Louvre, in great anxiety of mind: upon my entering the king's chamber, I saw him walking about very fast, his arms folded, his head reclined, and all the marks of a deep uneasiness * impressed on his countenance. The courtiers stood in different corners of the room, leaning against the hangings, without uttering a single word.

The king coming to meet me, pressed my hand with great emotion, crying "Ah, my friend, what a misfortune! Amiens is taken. I confess, I continued immoveable, like all the rest, at this unforeseen blow: a place so strong, so well provided with every thing that was necessary, so near to Paris, and on the side of Picardy the only key to the kingdom, to be taken so suddenly, ere we could be informed that it was threatened with an attack: the thing was almost incredible, and the general consternation appeared to be too well grounded. However, I took my resolution immediately, and while the king, who had received this news, as he was preparing to go to bed, related to me the manner in which the Spaniards, with some sacks of walnuts, had surprized this important place †, I reflected that, instead of

* "Being as it were thunderstruck at this, and yet looking up to "heaven as he commondly does more in adversity than prosperity, he "spoke aloud, This blow is from heaven! Then pausing a little "said, I have sufficiently acted the part of king of France, it is time "now that I assume the character of king of Navarre: and, turning "to the marchioness, who wept, we must quit our present warfare, "and take horse to engage in another."

† It was on the eleventh of March, Hernand Teillo de Porto-Carrero, a Spaniard, the author of this scheme, had disguised like country men and country women, carrying goods to market, about thirty Spaniards, who stopped up one of the gates of the town, and amused the guard, by pouring out at the entrance thereof a cart loaded with sacks full of filberts, which one of them untied; and during this time some Spanish troops, who lay concealed behind the hedges, marched up, and, putting the guard to the sword, made themselves masters

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increasing, to no purpose, the general dismay, prudence suggested that, in the present circumstance, it was necessary to keep up every one's spirits, and to comfort the king. I therefore told him that I had in good time just put the finishing hand to a scheme, by which not only Amiens, but several other places, would be restored to him without much difficulty.

THIS hint alone seemed, on a sudden, to have robbed the late misfortune of half its force; and although it did not hinder the king from reflecting on all the difficulties of an enterprize which might have very fatal consequences, yet as the astonishment the courtiers were in, left them nothing to say in answer to the king's interrogatories, but what tended to increase his disquiet, his hopes were greatly raised by what I had said, and he desired to know what methods they were by which I proposed to serve him. I replied, that he should be informed by the papers I had drawn up for that purpose; and I went out as if to fetch them, leaving the king at least in a more composed state of mind than I had found him. Had he been a witness of my perplexity and uneasiness, when I was alone in my closet, he would have suppressed part of those praises which he bestowed on me when I had quitted his chamber; for then it was, that, resigning myself up to reflection, I comprehended the whole extent of those misfortunes, which might be expected from the present posture of affairs. The king's treasure exhausted, not a single regiment fit for service, at the same time that there was an absolute necessity both for money and troops in great abundance, and that without any delay.

masters of the town. See an account of this in all the historians, under the year 1597. Hernand Teillo was killed, in bravely defending this town against Henry IV. He used to say, that the three greatest commanders he knew, were Henry for the conduct of a large army, the duke of Mayenne for the siege of a town, and marechal Biron for a battle. Matthieu, tom. II. liv. ii. p. 232.

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I READ over my private memoirs: I revolved in my mind all thoſe ſchemes for levying money, which I had employed my leiſure hours in concerting, foreſeeing that the king would have ſoon an occaſion for them. Moſt of theſe ſchemes might be reduced to two different kinds; one very eaſy and plain, wherein all that was neceſſary to be done was to augment the land-tax, and other impoſts already eſtabliſhed; the other more difficult, which conſiſted in contriving new ſources from whence money might be drawn. The firſt I did not think it prudent to have recourſe to, ſince, after all the hardſhips which the country people had endured, to oppreſs them ſtill more by an augmentation of taxes, the ſole weight of which falls upon them, and at a time when they but juſt began to breathe again, was to compleat the ruin of the ſtate, and to deprive the king himſelf, for the future, of his moſt fruitful, and in one ſenſe his moſt certain reſources.

I THEN turned my thoughts another way, and fixed upon the following project, which was to demand of the clergy a free gift for a year, if not for two years, and oblige them to make immediate payment; to augment the old offices with new members, four in each ſovereign court, beſides four maſters of accounts in every chamber, two in every office in the finances, two offices of counſellor in every preſidial court, an aſſeſſor in every royal tribunal, and an elect in every election; to add a third to all the officers of the finances *; to keep back half a year's payment of the arrears of ſums borrowed from the contractors in the laſt reign; to increaſe the tax on ſalt fifteen *ſous* a pottle, and to leave it always in that ſtate, becauſe ſuch an increaſe

* The offices of the finances were poſſeſſed by two perſons: the firſt was called l'Ancien; the ſecond, who had been appointed after, was called l'Alternatif; and this third was called Triennial, becauſe he had every third year his rotation with the other two, who alone had the privilege of reimburſing the Triennial.

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would give room for the suppression of certain offices too chargeable to the public; to raise the entry of goods, and the tolls of rivers a third part, by a new estimate; and as all these measures gave us, for the most part, only the hope of money, to begin by borrowing twelve hundred thousand livres from the richest people of the court and principal cities, and to assign them payments out of an augmentation of the gabels and five great farms; and, to supply the ready money which we should have occasion for besides, to raise a prosecution in the chamber of justice against the old contractors, who had made considerable fortunes, and oblige them to suffer a new tax in form of a loan.

This plan was indeed of sufficient extent. However, it was not my intention, that these methods should be all made use of at once, but, being uncertain how long the war would continue, they might employ them successively, beginning with those that were the least burthensome. With regard to the troops that were necessary, I thought they could not do better than to raise them in those provinces of the kingdom which had no longer any occasion for defence. Thus I taxed the isle of France, by joining Berry to it, with a complete regiment; the Orleanois with Touraine was to furnish a second; and Normandy itself a third: these regiments were to consist of fifteen hundred and fifty men, furnished and maintained by the provinces, from the day of their arrival before Amiens; because these provinces enjoyed the right of calling the regiments by their own name, and of appointing the officers.

Five days after I carried my project to the king, with the proper evidences formally drawn up in thirteen papers. His majesty retired to examine them with me, in the presence of d'Arambure, Lomenie, Beringhen, and l'Oserai. When I had finished reading them, I told the king, that, with

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theſe ſupplies, there was nothing to retard his departure for the expedition of Amiens; ſince all the neceſſary preparations for a camp in Picardy were already made in ſuch a manner, that, I durſt aſſure his majeſty, his army would not only find there proviſion in great plenty, but likewiſe every thing requiſite for mere convenience, with the ſame eaſe, and at the ſame price as in a city. I added, that whatever reſource this ſcheme might afford the king in his preſent neceſſities, his majeſty muſt not imagine it would be carried into execution, without increaſing the number of thoſe wounds of which France was far from being wholly cured: that he need only take a ſlight view of the immenſe debts and engagements with which the ſtate was overburdened; that, to an exhauſted ſtate, a new tax, in whatever manner diſguiſed, is always the ſame; therefore the war ſhould not be renewed, but with a view of procuring an advantageous peace, which was now become abſolutely neceſſary: and however great the public miſery was at preſent, I was fully convinced that twelve years of continued peace would be ſufficient to reſtore the kingdom to a flouriſhing condition.

I DID not doubt but that, by the conduct which the king appeared diſpoſed to obſerve, the enemies, notwithſtanding the advantages they had gained, would be the firſt to wiſh for the end of the war; and at that time I freely diſcloſed a thought to the king, the juſtneſs of which was verified by the event; and this was, that the firſt overtures for a peace would be made by the king of Spain, whom policy, in that ſtate of weakneſs and incapacity to which the common courſe of nature had reduced him, would not permit to expoſe his crown to the uncertain chances of war, always to be feared, but chiefly in the beginning of a prince's reign who was ſtill a child. I even went ſo far as to foretel, that Spain would purchaſe peace by the reſtoration of all the towns ſhe had taken from France. My

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My ſcheme for raiſing money was ſo much approved by the king, that he reſolved to propoſe it himſelf in full council; but he communicated it beforehand to a kind of little council of war, compoſed of the duke of Montpenſier, meſſieurs de Montmorency, de Maïenne, d'Auvergne, de Biron, d'Ornano, de Bellegarde, de Saint Luc, de Fervaques, de Roquelaure, and de Frontenac: he afterwards ſummoned an extraordinary council, to which he admitted all in Paris who had a right to a place there, particularly the chief perſons of the aſſembly of Rouen, who ſtill reſided there. The king could take no happier meaſures to eſtabliſh his authority upon the weakneſs of this great aſſembly, which was now acknowledged by themſelves. He began with lamenting the loſs of Amiens, declaring the neceſſity there was to recover this city as ſoon as poſſible, giving in a full plan of all that was neceſſary for that purpoſe: he concluded with aſking the advice of all that were preſent, concerning the means of carrying it into execution, complaining, in order to conceal from them what he himſelf had to propoſe, that his moſt uſeful and neceſſary enterprizes were always oppoſed by difficulties, and retarded by delays.

Here the king ſtopped as if to wait for the deliberations of the aſſembly. Each looked upon the other without uttering a ſingle word; at length the nobles broke ſilence, but it was only to refer the affairs to the financiers, who in their return replied, that it belonged wholly to the nobles. Henry urging them to deliver their opinions, ſome general propoſals for new levies were made, which were immediately oppoſed by one half of the aſſembly; and the counſellors finding their ſpeech all at one time, to ridicule, in a confuſed and diſorderly manner, whatever might be offered by either party, the king ſeizing that moment when their animoſity was carried to ſuch a height, that there was not the leaſt probability of their coming to any agreement, drew the

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memorial out of his pocket, telling them, that, although he had but little experience in the affairs of the finances, yet, upon the preſent occaſion, he would offer his opinion, which he was always ready to give up for a better: he then prepared to read the paper, which threw all that were preſent into a fixed attention, and afterwards into an aſtoniſhment, that rendered them ſpeechleſs and immoveable. Henry ſuffered them to remain in this ſilence for two moments; then declaring that he underſtood it as an unanimous conſent, added, that as he had no intention to make uſe of all thoſe meaſures at one time, he would begin by borrowing the ſum of twelve hundred thouſand livres; and exhorted the nobles and wealthieſt perſons in the kingdom, to comply voluntarily with the preſent neceſſity of the times, and depend upon his royal word, that the lenders ſhould have their principal reimburſed in the ſpace of two years, together with the intereſt. His majeſty then brought forward the fifteen *ſous* upon ſalt, the eſtabliſhment of the third man in the finances, and an enquiry into the conduct of fraudulent contractors. The affair was decreed, and a decree drawn up upon that plan. We had, in a very little time, three hundred thouſand crowns voluntarily lent: the creation of the third man brought in twelve hundred thouſand, and the ſame ſum was drawn from the collectors of taxes, to whom the treaſurers of France were joined, but were ſuffered however to tax themſelves.

The council of the finances, accuſtomed to rejoice in the calamity of the people, were ſoon comforted under theſe new ſubſidies, provided they might paſs through their hands. They repreſented to the king, after having greatly commended his memorial, that the ſucceſs of it depended upon his employing perſons of great experience, ready diſpatch, and poſſeſſed of a full power to execute it. The king replied, that the perſon he was reſolved to employ

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employ ſhould be inveſted with his authority; and that with regard to the other qualities, he pitched upon me (I was preſent at this diſcourſe) as the moſt induſtrious and moſt prudent amongſt them, although the youngeſt. He expreſſed himſelf in yet ſtronger terms to Schomberg (whom his majeſty viſited juſt before his departure, on account of an indiſpoſition* that confined him to his bed) and to the counſellors he found in the ſick count's chamber. He told them, that as I only ſhould bear the blame, if he was not ſupplied with every thing he had occaſion for, while he employed himſelf wholly in fighting againſt his enemies, ſo he was reſolved that every thing ſhould be regulated in the council agreeable to my directions. And accordingly, before he went away, he inveſted me with his whole authority. This mortified Schomberg to ſuch a degree, that he choſe rather to go and ſerve at the ſiege than ſee me at the head of the finances. Sancy likewiſe left the council, to hold his rank in the army as colonel of the Swiſs.

THE gentlemen of the council gave me ſtill more reaſon to ſuſpect them, of which I had a proof in the affair of the third men. After having recorded the edict by which they were created, I endeavoured to raiſe as much money as was poſſible from theſe offices. And to deprive the gentlemen of the council of all means of ſerving, at a low rate, any relation or friend, as was uſual with them, I applied myſelf with as much aſſiduity to the pen, as any clerk or treaſurer *des parties caſuelles*; and not ſatiſ-

* Gaſpard Schomberg, count de Nanteuil. This diſorder was a difficulty of breathing, that proceeded from the membrane that covers the heart becoming oſſeous on the left ſide, as alſo ſome others of the neighbouring parts; and this was found ſo upon opening his body after his death, which happened two years afterwards. He was employed in the making the edict of Nantes, as ſhall be obſerved hereafter; and he did many other ſervices to the ſtate. M. de Thou highly commends his character and abilities, both as a warrior and a ſtateſman.

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fied with using this precaution, I gave a note under my hand to each purchaser, who was obliged to carry it to the treasurer, from whom, after laying down the money, he received an acquittance, and both were to be produced to me.

All artifice becoming ineffectual, the contractors had recourse to a method which, doubtless, had seldom failed before; they attempted to corrupt me with bribes. Robert de Tours, a very considerable contractor, after conferring with the council, whom he had gained over to his interest, came to my house, and entreated one of my secretaries to procure him an interview with my wife, to whom he offered a jewel worth six thousand crowns as a present for me, and another worth two thousand for her, that I might not oppose a determination of the council, who had assigned to him the nomination of all the third men in the districts of Tours and Orleans, for the sum of seventy-two thousand crowns. He was introduced to me by madam de Rosny, whom, by a severe reprimand in the contractor's presence, I made sensible of the fault she had committed. Nor did I spare him, in order to prevent such attempts for the future. He left me greatly surprised, and probably as much offended at my behaviour. I had just been refusing, from another contractor, sixty thousand crowns, for one half of that of which he had before offered me seventy-two thousand for the whole; and that very evening, that half brought me fourscore thousand crowns, because I divided it into small parcels.

This employment detained me at home all that day and the following; for I thought it of more consequence than to attend the chancellor's summons, who had sent a serjeant of the council twice to me, to desire I would come thither, and finish an affair which would procure the king, he said, seventy-five thousand crowns of ready money. I went as soon as I was disengaged, without thinking any

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more of Robert de Tours. The chancellor, upon my entering the council-chamber, made me some slight reproaches for my negligence: I answered him bluntly, that I had been more useful to the king, in my closet. "We have been no less so here," returned the chancellor, who sought to enhance the value of the service he had done the king, in procuring him this ready money, by the necessity his majesty was in for it, having by two letters successively, demanded some of the council. When I discovered that this was the money which had just before been offered me by the contractor of Tours, he having only added three thousand crowns more to the sum, I represented to these gentlemen, in very strong terms, that since they could not be ignorant that Robert had first applied to me, they ought not to have concluded, without my knowledge, an affair which had appeared to me unjust.

FINDING that they were endeavouring to impose upon me, partly by complaint, and partly by an air of authority, I told them plainly, that if I had been of a humour to be gained by bribes, the bargain would not have returned to them; but that since the king relied on my fidelity, I would not fail to give him every proof of it in my power. The chancellor, Fresne, and la Grange-le-roi, sensibly affected with the reproach conveyed in these words, had the assurance to mention immediately, that a bargain by which the king lost more than half of what was due to him, was, notwithstanding, more advantageous for him, since he was paid with ready money, than mine, by which I commonly allowed the purchasers the term of six months for the payment of the second moiety. They did not stop there, but reproached me with setting myself up for a reformer of the finances; and declared, with an air of contempt, that they were able to support their bargain against mine. Upon this, growing violent, the council determined that their assignment to Robert de Tours should take place. I DID

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I DID not think proper to ſay one word more concerning this unjuſtifiable method of proceeding, nor upon the regulation that was made in conſequence of it, which was, that thenceforward the council would have no regard to particular notes. But when Fayet, the ſecretary, brought me this arret to ſign, I refuſed to do ſo, till I had received the king's anſwer to a letter, in which, as I told Fayet, I had ſuppreſſed no part of the truth, nor concealed the perſons: this letter gave Fayet ſome apprehenſions, as I deſigned it ſhould; he intreated me to ſhew it him; and pretending to be overcome by his importunity, I yielded. It turned entirely upon the underhand practices which Robert had made uſe of to gain the gentlemen of the council; all which I had had the good fortune to diſcover. I likewiſe gave the king to underſtand, that this contractor had procured the favour of the council, by making to madam de Sourdis *, miſtreſs to the chancellor, the ſame offers which I had rejected; to which he had added other preſents to madam de Deuilly, a relation of the chancellor's, and Freſne's miſtreſs. Fayet repeating the contents of my letter to the perſons moſt concerned in it, they ſent him back immediately, to intreat I would not ſend it: the arret was ſuppreſſed, and Robert's bargain rejected.

* Iſabel Babou de la Bourdaiſiere, the wife of Francis d'Eſcoubleau marquis de Sourdis; ſhe had an elder ſiſter, called Frances, who was married to Antony d'Eſtrées, and mother to the fair Gabrielle; and likewiſe a younger ſiſter, who married Claude de Bauvilliers, the count de Saint-Aignan. This whole family was ſtrangely cried down and ſatirized in the Amours du Grand Alcandro, and other ſarcaſtical libels of that time, even as far back as the grandmother of theſe three ladies, who was called Mary Gaudin. All the daughters of this line were remarkably beautiful. Leo. X. was ſo charmed with the beauty of Mary Gaudin, at Boulogne, where he had ſeen her, when he had a conference with Francis I. that he preſented her with a diamond, called by domeſtic tradition Gaudin's Diamond. It is Amelot de la Houſaye who ſpeaks ſo; and he has collected ſeveral ſuch-like anecdotes of this whole family, to which I refer the curious reader, in the article *Babou de la Bourdaiſiere*.

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In this manner I divided my labours, between the care of receiving the money of the ſtate, and laying it out advantageouſly for the neceſſities of the army, which wanted neither proviſions nor artillery during the whole time that the ſiege of Amiens continued. I took a journey regularly every month to the camp, carrying with me each time fifteen hundred thouſand crowns; which procured me the friendſhip of all the principal officers, who were not accuſtomed to ſuch exact payments. I extended my cares and ſolicitude even to the private ſoldiers, by eſtabliſhing an hoſpital in the camp, ſo covenient and ſo well attended, that ſeveral perſons of quality went thither to be cured of their diſeaſes or wounds *.

The king's ſolicitude for the ſafety of my perſon, which, indeed, he almoſt carried to exceſs, more than compenſated for all my trouble. Saint-Luc, to whom the count de la Guiche had reſigned the poſt of great maſter of the ordnance, took me with him to ſee his lodgments, knowing my fondneſs for that part of the military art: this engaged me very far in the trenches and other places in which there was ſome danger. The king, being informed of it, gave me a ſevere reprimand, abſolutely forbidding me to appear at any hazardous poſt; and ſaid publicly on this occaſion, that I had enemies even in the camp, who ſo eagerly deſired my death, they would voluntarily expoſe themſelves to any danger, provided I ſhared it with them. It was hardly poſſible for one who had been a ſoldier, not to feel his former ardour for war revive, near a prince who was equal to every military duty, and performed all with an application ſo unwearied, and courage ſo invincible, as might have animated hearts the leaſt ſenſible to glory.

* D'Aubigné relates, that it was commonly ſaid at that time, that Henry IV. had brought Paris with him before Amiens, to ſhew the abundance that reigned in his camp. And he likewiſe brought his miſtreſs to Pecquigny, at which the marechal de Biron and other general officers murmured very much.

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His example, however, did not produce the same effect upon all. In the very midst of his camp, a cabal of mutinous protestants was formed, headed by messieurs de la Tremouille, de Bouillon, and Du-Plessis, which gave him great uneasiness. Going to pay my respects to him, before I returned again to Paris, I found him in deep affliction: he had just received certain intelligence, that these three gentlemen, in concert with the two Saint-Germains, de Clan, and de Beaupré, d'Aubigné *, la Case, la Valliere, la Sausaie, la Bertichere, Preaux, Bassignac, Regnac, Bessais, Constant, and other protestants, to the number of twenty, had held an assembly of the whole body of protestant bigots, wherein they had made a proposal, which they supported with all the power and influence they had, to take advantage of the opportunity the siege of Amiens † afforded them, which could not be car-

* This is the historian d'Aubigné, who is always called d'Aubigny in these memoirs: his name is Theodore-Agrippa d'Aubigné: his birth, his services, and his courage, gained him great reputation among the calvinist party: he retired in 1620 to Geneva, where he died in 1631, aged fourscore, leaving behind him only one son, called Constans d'Aubigne, whose daughter was Frances d'Aubigne, the late marchioness de Maintenon. Addias de Chaumont, seigneur de la Bertichere, brother to John de Chaumont, the marquis de Guitry; his posterity is still extant to this day. Hector de Preaux, &c.

† It is certain, that it was by this conjuncture of the siege of Amiens, and the several steps which the calvinists of France took to make their advantage of it, that they obtained the famous edict of Nantes, which was granted them the year following. The duke de Bouillon does not deny this. All the reasons by which he justifies this conduct, may be seen in Marsolier, liv. v. but the best of all is the protest which he and Du-Plessis Mornai make, that whatever might apparently be the view of the calvinists in these assemblies at Saumur, Loudon, and Vendôme, that were called together immediately after one another, and conducted with a great deal of warmth, neither they nor the other heads of the party ever had an intention of deliberating therein upon taking up arms, but only amicably to endeavour to obtain equitable conditions. We could wish, solely for the entire justification of the duke de Bouillon, that there had not been reason to upbraid him for refusing to follow the king in his expedition to Amiens; and that the surprize of this town by the Spaniards had not been followed, on the party of the calvinists, by a translation of the protestant assembly of Vendôme to Châtelleraut, where

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ried on without their assistance, to force an edict from the king entirely to their satisfaction; or, if he refused, to do themselves justice, by taking up arms against him. Happily for the king, this proposal was objected to by many persons in the assembly, as well as in some of the great towns, which they had endeavoured to draw over to their party. His majesty was a little comforted by this circumstance, but he had reason to apprehend, that the most violent party would carry it at last. He commanded me to write to some of the principal amongst them, to prevail upon them, if possible, to resume more reasonable sentiments; and particularly the duke de la Tremouille, whom he knew to be the chief promoter of the conspiracy.

HITHERTO I had preserved some degree of intimacy with la Tremouille, insomuch that he thought himself obliged to require my presence in these assemblies, but concealed the occasion of them; and in his letter to me made use of such ambiguous terms, as it was not difficult to judge, that I was considered by these gentlemen as a man unfaithful to his own party; and that la Tremouille was not far from engaging in an open rebellion. This did not hinder me, however, from taking advantage of the remaining correspondence there was between us, to endeavour to bring him back to his duty. I wrote to him in

where the proceedings were so violent, that the king was obliged to send thither M. de Schomberg, de Thou, de Vic, de Calignon, and de Montglat, who were charged with full powers to offer such conditions as sufficiently shew, that Henry IV. thought he had every thing to fear from them. The reason why the Calvinists have filled Europe with their complaints about the revocation of the edict of Nantes, is because the intervention of a space of time of upwards of fourscore years, has made them lose sight of the means they used at first to extort it. As to the above remark, consult the Memoirs of the duke de Bouillon; his Hist. by Marsolier; the Hist. of the edict of Nantes; the life of Du-Plessis Mornai; the Verbal process of the assemblies of Vendôme and Châtellerault, &c. but especially d'Aubigné, tom. III. liv. iv. ch. 11. where he relates, at very full length, all the schemes and cabals of the calvinist party, and the new turn which they endeavoured to give their affairs.

answer

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anſwer, that although it were true, the king, in reſpect to him, was ſuch as he imagined, there was neither honour nor greatneſs in extorting from him a declaration which was the effect only of neceſſity; but that, in reality, this prince had the ſame ſentiments as formerly for the proteſtants; that he was not the cauſe of that injuſtice they ſuffered from the catholics, ſince he had equal reaſon to complain of them himſelf; that beſides he ſhould obſerve, that the conſequence of this edict, obtained ſo unſeaſonably, would not be ſo advantageous for them as they imagined, ſince the catholics, always more powerful than they, were able to prevent it for the preſent; and for the future, the king, juſtly offended at their violent proceedings, would loſe all inclination to grant them one day, voluntarily, what in ſo unfavourable à conjuncture they wanted to anticipate by force; and all the effect which an unſucceſsful attempt would produce, would be to create a diſtruſt of them in the catholic party, and put them upon their guard againſt them. I reminded Tremouille of the examples of thoſe illuſtrious proteſtants, who, on all occaſions, both by their words and conduct, ſhewed, that a proteſtant who acts conformable to his faith has the good of the ſtate, and the true intereſt of his king always in view. Tremouille was ſo little moved with my letter, that he ſhewed it to every one, and made a public jeſt of it: but theſe deſigns, not being ſupported by a ſufficient number of partiſans, fell to the ground.

The poſt of great maſter of the ordnance became vacant, at my fourth viſit to the camp. Saint-Luc *, looking between two gabions, where, in appearance, there was ſcarcely room enough for a cannon-ball to enter, was unfortunately ſhot dead by one. The king was converſing alone with me when Villeroi and Montigny came to tell him the news, which

* Francis d'Epinai de Saint-Luc: he is called the brave Saint-Luc. See his eulogy in Brantôme's *Vies des hommes illuſt.* in the article *Saint-Luc*, tom. I.

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they would not impart in the preſence of any other perſon, becauſe of the particular deſigns each had on this poſt. I came up to the king again when they had left him, and his majeſty informed me of Saint-Luc's death, and likewiſe that Villeroi and Montigny had firſt aſked him for this poſt; the firſt for his ſon d'Alincourt, or his nephew Châteauneuf-l'Aubepine *, and Montigny for himſelf. Saint-Luc had genius, readineſs of invention, was capable of great induſtry, and poſſeſſed of much perſonal courage; the only fault he could be charged with, was his reſigning himſelf up too much to a lively imagination, which furniſhing him with ſcheme after ſcheme, he conſumed in theory great part of that time which ſhould have been employed in practice. The king, however, thought none of the candidates capable of filling his place; d'Alincourt wanted fortitude, and, ſaid the king, has no colour on his nails: Chateauneuf † concealed his want of real genius, under an appearance of affectation and grimaces. Montigny was, in truth, valiant, and of warm affections; but theſe qualities were not ſufficient to entitle him to ſo conſiderable a poſt, as he was without expedient, order, or œconomy.

His majeſty, by talking to me in this manner, appeared to me to have no other reaſon for heſitating whether he ſhould beſtow this poſt upon me, but becauſe he thought the duties of it incompatible with thoſe of ſuperintendant of the finances. It was not difficult for me to undeceive him; and that inſtant he promiſed I ſhould have it: but deferred this proof of his friendſhip for me, till the ſiege was at an end, my preſence being, in his opinion, neceſſary at Paris; during which time he would leave the place vacant. I did not ſee the king all the following day, and un-

* Charles de l'Aubepine, marquis de Chateauneuf. Francis de la Grange, ſeigneur de Montigny.

† He was made keeper of the ſeals in 1630, and reſigned them in 1633.

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fortunately for me he ſaw the marchioneſs of Monceaux in that interval, who omitted nothing to prevail upon him to change his reſolution in favour of the elder d'Eſtrées §, her father. The king reſiſted the intreaties of this lady, and even her tears, but he was not proof to her threats of throwing herſelf into a convent, if he refuſed her this favour. The fear of loſing her rekindling all the ardours of his paſſion, ſhe obtained the poſt for her father. The next day the king, with ſome confuſion for the weakneſs he had ſhewn, informed me of what had paſſed; however, in one circumſtance he took care of my intereſts, by conditioning with monſieur d'Eſtrées, who was uttetly incapable of exerciſing this employment himſelf, that he ſhould exchange it for the firſt poſt under the crown, which ſhould become vacant, and abſolutely reſign it (if a more conſiderable war ſhould happen to break out) in favour of him whom his majeſty ſhould appoint: and he again engaged his word to me, that I ſhould be the perſon.

I WAS ſatisfied with this aſſurance, and returned to Paris, where a few days afterwards I received news from the camp of the death of my youngeſt brother, governor of Mante †, whom I had left in good health. Of four brothers his death reduced us to two. The king rejected all the applications that were made to him by ſeveral perſons for the government of Mante, to beſtow it without any ſolicita-

§ Antony d'Eſtrées. "He (Saint-Luc) dying, M. d'Eſtrées ſucceeded in his place, as well deſerving it, by being thoroughly inſtructed in the duties belonging to the poſt by his brave father. Thus right and truth, though they wait long, at length meet with their reward: for he was injured by not getting this place on his father's death. At the laſt, truth and right got the better with regard to him." Brant. *Vies de hommes illuſtres*, tom. I. p. 227. in the article *M. d'Eſtrées*.

† Solomon de Bethune, baron de Roſny, and governor of Mante. This is the third of the four brothers, of whom we have ſpoke in the beginning of theſe Memoirs: he was only ſix and thirty years of age when he died.

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tion upon me. I received this gift by the same letter which his majesty wrote to me on occasion of my brother's death, together with the writings necessary to invest me with all the rights of my brother, who died without children. I sent Baltazar my secretary of Amiens, to procure my patent for the government, which as soon as I had received, I went to Mante to be acknowledged as governor, designing to stay there but four days.

THE gentlemen of the council, supposing my absence would be much longer, and probably followed by a resignation of my employment in the finances, were full of joy; and one of the first advantages they drew from it, was to take proper measures for appropriating to themselves part of those sums destined for the siege of Amiens. They all signed a letter to his majesty, written in the name of the council, in which they represented to him that, having been supplied with every thing that was necessary for the siege during five months, his majesty could not be surprized to hear that his funds were quite exhausted, having nothing remaining but some bad arrears and assignments of payment. Henry, who knew not that I was at Mante, and who, by an effect of his ordinary vivacity, had not examined the signatures of this letter, was so much the more surprized at it, as I had positively assured him that I was able to furnish him with the usual sums for four months longer, which was all the time the siege was expected to last. He exclaimed in very severe terms against the gentlemen of the council, in the presence of the chief officers of his army; nor for this once was I spared any more than the rest: but after a moment's reflection, casting his eyes upon the names subscribed to this letter, among which he did not see mine, and learning from the courier that I was at Mante, he condemned himself immediately for his too precipitate anger; and that the reparation he made me might be complete, he

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he read my anſwer to the letter he wrote to me on this occaſion, in the preſence of the ſame perſons.

His intereſt indeed required that he ſhould remove their apprehenſions. A ſiege ſo extremely laborious had ſometimes diſcouraged both them and their ſoldiers to ſuch a degree, than an abſolute deſertion would have been the conſequence of his treaſure being exhauſted, ſince, upon the leaſt delay of the remittances, the king could not hinder many from leaving him. All went on well to the end; if the beſieged defended themſelves with vigour, and made ſallies upon ſallies, they were attacked with the ſame ſpirit, and were always defeated.

The ſap was carried as far as the ramparts, and the beſiegers had juſt taken poſſeſſion of two caſemates, which they rendered uſeleſs to the beſieged, when the cardinal-archduke, with the count of Mansfield, who ſerved under him in quality of lieutenant-general, thought it time to make an effort to prevent the reduction of the place: they marched towards it with an army conſiſting of between twelve and thirteen thouſand foot, and two or three thouſand horſe, and paſſed the river of Authie, with an intention to offer the king's forces battle, or at leaſt to throw a conſiderable ſupply into Amiens. All that endeavoured to enter were driven back ‡.

‡ Perefixe relates this fact very differently. "The archduke, ſays "he, came and lay before the quarter called Longpré, on the 15th of "September, at two in the afternoon, when no-body expected him. "He might have eaſily thrown three thouſand men into Amiens; "ſo great was the conſternation which was ſpread in the camp. Henry, "doubting of the ſucceſs of that day, ſpoke out aloud, O Lord (at "the ſame time leaning upon the pommel of his ſaddle, with his hat "in his hand, and his eyes lifted towards heaven) if 'tis to-day that "thou intendeſt to puniſh me, as my ſins deſerve, I offer up my "life a ſacrifice to thy juſtice, ſpare not the guilty; but, O Lord, "for thy great mercy's ſake, pity this poor kingdom, and chaſtiſe not "the flock for the errors and faults of the ſhepherd. When he ſaw "nothing appearing, he withdrew diſſatisfied, ſaid he gallantly, "with the courteſy of the Spaniards, who would not advance one "ſingle ſtep to receive him, and who, with a bad grace, refuſed the "honour which he offered them." Perefixe, part 2. Moſt part of the

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The king went himself to reconnoitre the enemy's army: he had a full view of it; and notwithstanding the superiority of their numbers, finding them a confused and disorderly multitude, without discipline or conduct, resolved to attack them; but at the first motion he made, the archduke retreated with precipitation ‖: probably it would not have been impossible to have forced the Spaniards to a battle, and to have beat them without discontinuing the siege: at least Henry was always of this opinion. Nevertheless he yielded to the advice of the greatest number, who were for allowing the archduke to retreat. After this they applied themselves closely to the siege. The ravelin having been carried away, and the body of the place beginning to be sapped, Amiens surrendered the latter end of September this year, which had been almost wholly employed in this siege.

WHEN I look upon the great number of letters which I received from the king during the expedition of Amiens, I cannot help being surprized that

the historians agree, that the Spaniards let slip one of the fineſt opportunities they ever had, of beating the king's army: and this prince said himself afterwards, that some of his chief officers told him all was now lost. Matthieu, tom. 2. liv. ii. p. 234.

‖ The king said of the cardinal arch-duke, that he came on like a captain, but went off like a priest. La Curée very earnestly desired of the king, that he would be pleased to let him go and discover the posture of the enemy's army, putting his majesty in mind, that the Spaniards had entered France four times, and that he had every time attacked them, and was the first who had beaten them. Henry made answer, M. La Curée don't be in a hurry; and at the same time he gave him leave. La Curée was much spoke of upon this occasion for his valour, and the noble retreat he made before this army encamped at Betancourt, four leagues from Amiens. However, he afterwards said, upon this occasion, that when three or four hundred men retreat in this manner before a whole army, it is only the fault of that army, if they are not cut off. He was an undaunted man: for one day he flung himself into the midst of the enemy, when by his hand being numbed with holding his pistol, he could not use his sword. There were even women dressed like men, who fought in the French army: four among them were very remarkable, who distinguished themselves in taking prisoners with their own hands, and one especially, who went under the name of captain Gascon. These particulars are taken from vol. 8929 of the king's MSS. See also on this head, tom. vi. des Memoirs de la Ligue, in which are given very high commendations of the spirit, alertness, and valour of Henry IV.

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a prince, who had the operations of a great siege upon his hands, and the care of a whole camp, should yet be so attentive to all affairs within his kingdom, and with equal facility and equal diligence acquit himself of such opposite employments. I shall spare the reader the trouble of perusing all these letters, as likewise those which his majesty did me the honour to write to me afterwards. I reckoned above three thousand, without taking in those that I have neglected to preserve, or have been lost through the carelessness of my secretaries. It would be too tedious to give a particular account of each: some of them I suppress in obedience to his majesty's orders, as they regarded persons whose reputation he had no desire to wound, and whom I have doubtless more reason to avoid offending, as I should do by revealing intrigues of state, or merely gallantry, which have still continued secret: as for the rest, they turned wholly upon accounts, application of particular sums, payments, pensions, and other things of the same nature, all of which were so dry and unentertaining, that they afford new matter for praises of this prince.

With regard to his finances, for example, he was so extremely exact as to make me give him an account once a week, of the money received, and the uses it had been put to †. He does not miss a remark that, in casting some cannon, they wanted to rob him of a piece. In a remission of six or seven thousand crowns which he was obliged to grant the people upon the land-taxes, he settles himself the gratification that ought to be repaid to certain parishes which had suffered most. He calculated exactly the number of the offices that were sold, and the money arising from thence. He never forgot any person to whom the state was indebted, or who had done it any service, either in the distant provinces or the neighbouring kingdoms, assigning

† A hundred crowns could not be expended, says Perefixe, but he knew whether they were well or ill laid out.

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with the utmoſt diſcernment a particular fund for all. His great care was, that the fund appointed for the ſupport of the war ſhould not be broken in upon by any other payment, as appears when he mentions a recompence to be given to the ſieur de Vienne, who had brought back the city of Tour to its obedience, or the repayment of four thouſand crowns that he had borrowed of madam de Beaufort.

THE number of his letters relating to his military affairs are prodigious. He calculated ſo juſtly the ſums neceſſary for the making of trenches and other works, together with the ſoldiers pay, that there was no danger of a miſtake in following him. The order he obſerved in the march of his troops was not regulated with leſs prudence, than that of the convoys of money which came to his camp, that the one might not be retarded, nor the other intercepted.

ALL this made up but one part of his cares. The letter wherein he ſpeaks of the repairs of Montreuil, Boulogne, and Abbeville; thoſe in which he expatiates upon the method of maintaining regularity in the provinces, obedience in the cities, ſubordination in the different bodies, on occaſion of the chamber of accounts which had failed in the reſpect they owed him; that in which he ſays, "I would not mix the "expences of maſquerades with theſe deſtined for "the uſe of my army;" for Mortier, who had provided dreſſes for a maſque, had cauſed the money laid out on that occaſion to be inſerted in a memorial of military expences; that alſo which contained his reply to the offer which the city of Paris made him by her mayor and aldermen, to ſupport, at their own expence, twelve hundred men, in conſideration of which ſervice, he diſcharged this city from paying the aids a ſecond time, and many other of this kind; all theſe ſhew, that the ſame hand that was able to draw up a plan of attack, was equally capable of conducting the affairs of the cabinet.

THE only thing he neglected was his perſonal

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maintenance; to make him think of it, Montglat, the first steward of his household, was forced to inform him, as he tells us in some of his letters, that he could scarce make the pot boil any longer. He was not ashamed to confess a thing which affected his domestic enemies only; it was their part to blush that he was destitute of apparel, arms, and horses: however, he afterwards found means to settle a fund for his own subsistence, which could not be confounded with any other; it was the mark of gold arising from the offices which were sold, that he destined for this use. Such were the subjects of many of the letters he wrote me this year, from which the reader may judge of those of the following years, the originals of which I keep with the utmost care, but shall only transcribe the most important amongst them. It is remarkable, that although there are a great number of them, and almost all very long, there are few however, that are not written with his own hand, and particularly those which are directly addressed either to the council or me §.

I WAS present at the council which was held after the surrender of Amiens, upon the operations of the rest of the campaign. These propositions were made: to follow the enemy's army, seize some cities of Artois by surprize, and besiege Dourlens ‡ in form: upon which each one that was present gave his opinion; mine was, that it could not be expected the cardinal infant, who had so obstinately

§ I observed in the preface the reasons that induced me not to transcribe here so many letters. They may be seen at the head of the new collection of Henry le Grand's: the originals of some of them are at this day to be seen in the fine museum of the duke de Sully, with marginal notes written by Maximilian de Bethune's own hand. But the most valuable pieces in this cabinet, besides a considerable number of original letters of Henry the III. and other cotemporary princes, are papers of state, letters, serious or gay pieces, and other fragments, writ by Henry le Grand's own hand, and by his chief minister, or only signed or marked in the margin by them. We have already spoken of those that concern the accommodation of the admiral de Villars, and other governors and towns, especially in Normandy: we shall have occasion in the sequel to mention particularly some others.

‡ A city of Picardy.

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refuſed to fight, when he had no other way of ſuccouring Amiens, ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be obliged to come to an engagement now, when he was ſenſible he ſhould have all the king's forces to encounter, and had had ſufficient time to take meaſures to avoid it; nor was it more probable, that the enterpriſes upon the cities of Artois ſhould ſucceed, in the neighbourhood of ſo numerous an army: yet that either of theſe deſigns appeared to me more judicious than the project of laying a ſiege to Dourlens, ſince that in fifteen days we might know what was to be expected from the former, and incur no ſhame by failing in them; whereas, by following the latter, we would infallibly have the regret to find that we had conſumed a great deal of time, money, and troops, to no purpoſe. It was reſolved, that the two firſt meaſures ſhould be ſuddenly attempted, without renouncing the ſiege of Dourlens. The Spaniards kept upon their guard, and the French gained no other advantage by this attempt, than the honour of having endeavoured to finiſh the war by a ſingle action, which contributed as much as all the reſt, to make the king of Spain deſirous of peace.

It was quite the reverſe with the interpriſe of Dourlens, upon which they were obſtinately bent. The king ſent me at Paris, whither I had now returned, his laſt reſolutions on that head. I did not ſcruple to repreſent to him, in terms ſtill ſtronger, the reaſons that had hindered me from approving that propoſal; that his army, having ſuffered conſiderably at the ſiege of Amiens, was not in a condition to undertake a ſecond equally laborious, in the month of October, a ſeaſon when the ground about Dourlens, which is naturally fat and viſcous, was made impracticable by the rains, and within ſight of an army eager to ſeize an occaſion of being revenged. The king did not take my freedom amiſs, though he was not convinced by my reaſons. He wrote to me in anſwer, that the expedition of Dour-

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lens was abſolutely neceſſary for the preſervation of Amiens and Abbeville: that by putting Picardy in a ſtate of ſecurity, he ſhould facilitate the ſale of the new offices; and that he would take ſuch meaſures, that the ſiege ſhould not continue ſo long as I apprehended.

ACCORDINGLY Dourlens was inveſted the ninth of October, and on the thirteenth, the rains had ſo much ſpoiled the ground and the roads, that the works could not be brought forward. Villeroi informed me in a letter, that they already repented of their attempt: in effect, the king ſet out almoſt immediately after, from his quarters at Beauval, and came to Belbat, where he gave orders for raiſing the ſiege, at which the ſoldiers had ſuffered ſo much during the ſhort time it had laſted, that they were upon the point of diſbanding. The king cauſed them all to be paid, placed them in winter-quarters upon the frontier, left his light horſe there, retrenched part of the garriſon, which the ſurprizing of Amiens had obliged him to throw into the neighbouring places, and ſet forward for Paris, to ſpend the winter there, taking his rout through Rouen and Monceaux, where he ſtaid eight days.

FROM this place he ſent me orders to over-rule the difficulties which the chancellor de Chiverny raiſed in parliament, to erect his country of Armagnac and Loctoure into a preſidial; and to aſſign the money ariſing from it to the payment of coſts granted in parliament to the ſieur de Fontrailles, count of Armagnac, in a ſuit which he had carried in that court againſt his majeſty. As the princeſs might have ſome claims upon this money, by virtue of the ceſſion her brother deſigned to make her of all his eſtates in this province, the king deſired me to keep the matter ſecret, and uſe the ſame precautions with Fontrailles and the chancellor, the laſt of whom obſerved this command very ill; but his indiſcretion had no bad conſequence, the princeſs leaving the

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the court of France a short time after. In the same letter, the king ordered me to pay Demeurat his solicitor at Riom, as likewise la Corbiniere, who was employed to furnish provisions for the troops that were left in Picardy. It was in these intervals from business, that he extended his attention to the most inconsiderable objects. He made me give the sieur de Piles, an old faithful servant, a reward of three thousand crowns, and another of eight thousand livres to Gobelin, to whom, at the same time, he repaid sixteen thousand livres, advanced by him for the support of his household. There was no name, even to that of the poor woman who gathered the taxes at Gisors, which was not mentioned somewhere in his letters.

THE poverty of the people †, which was indeed excessive, having produced many blanks in the receipts for the taxes, the king suspected that the gentlemen of the council, who were very zealous in representing and exaggerating these deficiencies, would find means, when they had obtained a discharge for the people, to put large sums in their own pockets, by concealing the discharge that had been granted; he ordered me first to get information, whether the peple were as much behind hand in the years 1594 and 1595, as those gentlemen had made him believe; which would easily be done, by examining the accounts of receipts and expences given in by the general and particular receivers, and by visiting the courts of the same provinces, whither I was already gone; and secondly, to examine whether this deficiency of the taxes did not proceed from idleness in the collectors, and disobedience in the people.

To conclude, his majesty began to busy himself at Monceaux with another matter of importance,

† Bougars, describing in his letters the desolation which the civil wars had caused in the kingdom, assures us, amongst other things, that the highways were so over-run with briars and thorns, that their track could not but with much ado be discovered. Epist. 73. ad Camera.

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that of drawing up articles, on which he desired to come to an agreement with the protestants. This work he pressed for some time upon the chancellor and Villeroi: I was likewise ordered to engage in it; but he would have had reason to complain a long time of the little attention which those men paid to his design, if he had not come himself to Paris to put it in execution †.

For these two last affairs concerning the financiers and the protestants more leisure was necessary than the king, upon his arrival at Paris, was able to afford them. He was obliged to turn his thoughts upon making new preparations for passing the following spring into Brittany, where the rebels, finding themselves out of the view of their sovereign, continued, with impunity, in disorder and disobedience. The duke of Mercœur, who was at their head, durst not, however, openly favour their revolt; on the contrary, the letters he wrote to the king were filled with seeming tokens of submission; and during the space of two years, it had been his whole study to amuse him with feigned proposals which he knew how to evade fulfilling. The king, on his side, had constantly dissembled with the duke, and hitherto contented himself with favourably receiving the officers of this province, who, weary of Mercœur's delays, addressed themselves directly to his majesty: but at length, the king thinking it time to go and attack this rebellious subject, even at his own doors ‡,

† 'He said to a deputation of the townsmen, who came to 'compliment him after the expedition to Amiens, shewing them 'the marechal de Biron, "Here, gentlemen, is the marechal de "Biron, whom I freely present both to my friends and enemies." Peref. part 2.

‡ One of the duke de Mercœur's friends having asked him one day, if ever he dreamed of being duke of Brittany, he made answer; "I know not whether it be a dream, but it has lasted these ten years "and upwards." The duchess de Mercœur's grandmother was Charlotte the heiress of the house of Penthievre, whose pretended rights to the duchy of Brittany were apparently the foundation of those of the duke de Mercœur.

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this design; which was carried on with the utmost secrecy, employed us during the whole winter.

It would have answered no purpose to have undertaken it without a body of twelve hundred foot, and two thousand cavalry, and a train of artillery, consisting of twelve cannons at least; and it was not possible to draw out these troops from the six thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse, which his majesty thought necessary for the defence of the frontier of Picardy, and which he had committed to the care of the constable, assisted by the counsels of messieurs Bellièvre, Villeroi, and Sillery. New funds were to be found for the support of all these troops; the taxes could not possibly be increased otherwise than by lessening the costs of the collection, which is with respect to the king a real increase. I likewise applied myself to collect the debts that were in arrear, and to recover such as were neglected; to which I joined some new imposts, few in number, and not oppressive.

The king, without these supplies, would have been obliged to have listened to proposals for a peace, and could not then have concluded one, but upon terms very advantageous to Spain. Pope Clement the eighth, desired it with great ardour; and, long before the campaign of Picardy, had sent the cardinal of Florence †, in quality of legate, to propose it to the king; at the same time Calatagironne ‡, patriarch of Constantinople, went by his holiness's orders to Spain for the same purpose. The negotiation had been unfortunate in the beginning. The king more irritated than discouraged by the invasion of Amiens, only answered the cardinal haughtily, that he would defer hearing what he had to propose, till after he had regained this place. The king of Spain, on the other hand, although it was with regret that he beheld the war renewed, yet founded great hopes upon

† Alexander de Medicis.

‡ Father Bonaventure de Calatagironne, general of the order of Saint Francis.

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his ſucceſs in Flanders, and particularly upon having ſurprized the city of Amiens, the poſſeſſion of which might draw along with it that of all the neighbouring country from the Oiſe to the Seine.

THE expeditions of the campaign being more favourable to the French, drew both ſides nearer an accommodation. Philip knew Henry to be a prince with whom it was as difficult to keep as to gain advantages, and having beſides a foreboding in his own mind, that the illneſs he was ſeized with would be mortal, the fear of leaving at his death the prince his ſon expoſed to ſuch an enemy as the king of France, induced him to liſten to the advice of Calatagironne, who when he was aſſured of the king's inclinations, returned to Rome to acquaint the pope with them, and was by his holineſs again deputed to France, to give the cardinal of Florence an account of his ſucceſs, and act in concert with him.

ACCORDINGLY their eminences renewed their former ſolicitations with Henry, and often repreſented to him, that the peace, in ſome meaſure, depended wholly upon him. The king, who was undeceived in his turn, and no longer influenced by thoſe great and flattering hopes, which, through a reliance upon the promiſes of his courtiers, he had entertained, ſaw the return of the two negotiators with pleaſure: though he appeared indifferent to their propoſals, at length he told them, that he would not be againſt a peace, provided Spain would give up all ſhe poſſeſſed in his dominions. The legates hinted, that this might poſſibly be obtained. And the king replied, that upon this plan he permitted them to treat and conclude a peace with the three miniſters he had left in Picardy, to whom he referred them; in the mean while, that he might not loſe the advantage of thoſe preparations he had made for war, nor waſte time ſo precious in mere negotiations, he ſet out for Brittany.

THE king took his rout through Angers, in the

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the beginning of March, ordering his army to follow him by ſhort journeys: he permitted his council likewiſe to attend him, but not till it had made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for ſupplying his army in Brittany, and the troops and commiſſioners for the peace in Picardy, with all things that were needful. As I now had the abſolute direction of the council, and met with no oppoſition whatever, I quickly put matters in ſuch a ſtate as I thought I might join the king without any bad conſequence. I expected to have found him already far advanced in Brittany, and was greatly ſurprized to hear, as I drew near Angers, that the king had not left that city. The duke of Mercœur muſt have been infallibly ruined, but for the ſervice he received from meſdames * de Mercœur and de † Martigues upon this occaſion: they began with obtaining, by the intereſt of the marchioneſs de Monceaux, a paſſport to meet the king at Angers ‡; where, as ſoon as they arrived, they intirely gained over the king's miſtreſs to their party. The ducheſs of Mercœur § offered her only daughter to be diſpoſed of in marriage to whomſoever the king thought proper, hinting to the marchioneſs, that ſhe would not be againſt marrying this opulent heireſs to her ſon Cæſar ‖. The marchioneſs of Monceaux was ſo agreeably flattered by this alliance, that from that moment, conſidering the duke of Mercœur's intereſts as her own, ſhe ſolicited

* Mary de Luxembourg, daughter to Sebaſtian de Luxembourg, duke of Penthievre and viſcount de Martigues, was wife to Philip Emanuel de Lorrain, duke de Mercœur.

† Mary de Beaucaire, daughter to John, ſeigneur de Peguillon, widow of Sebaſtian de Luxembourg, and mother to the ducheſs de Mercœur.

‡ They had come thither before the king, but were refuſed entrance; upon which they withdrew to Pont de Cé, till the king arrived at Angers.

§ Frances de Lorrain.

‖ "The eſpouſals were celebrated at Angers with the ſame magnificence as if he had been a lawfully begotten ſon of France: he was but four years of age, and ſhe but ſix." Peref. 2d part.

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for him with the utmoſt ardour and aſſiduity: the two ladies likewiſe employed every art to ſoften a prince remarkable for his complacency to the ſex. He ſuffered himſelf to be diſarmed by their ſubmiſſions, promiſes, and tears, and no longer thought of chaſtiſing the duke of Mercœur.

THE moment I alighted at Angers I went to pay my reſpects to the king. This prince, who by the firſt word I uttered, and the turn only of my countenance, comprehended all I had in my mind, embraced me cloſely in his arms, and preſſing me to his boſom, "My friend," ſaid he to me, "you are "welcome; I am truly glad to ſee you here, for I "have had great need of you." "And I, ſire," I replied (incapable of thoſe mean compliances that are dictated by flattery) "am greatly grieved to find "you ſtill here." "It is long," ſaid the king, interrupting me, "that we have learned to under-"ſtand each other by half a word; I gueſs already "what you would ſay to me; but if you knew "what has paſſed, and to what a forwardneſs I have "already brought affairs, you would alter your "opinion." I replied, that thoſe advantages, whatever they were, which he meant, he might have obtained, and many far more conſiderable, if, inſtead of ſtopping at Angers, he had preſented himſelf before Nantes, at the head of his army. The king endeavoured to excuſe himſelf upon the want of inſtruments proper for the ſiege of the city. I anſwered, that he would have had no occaſion for them, becauſe Nantes would have rendered them unneceſſary by a ſurrender, and perhaps have delivered * the duke of Mercœur into his hands. The firſt of theſe

* All the hiſtorians agree, that Henry IV. was in a condition to have made the duke de Mercœur ſmart for his diſobedience: he would never ſuffer that this duke ſhould ſend him any perſon in his name to Vervins; and proteſted that he would rather endure a continual war, than conſent that one of his ſubjects ſhould ſeem to treat with him thus like a foreign prince.

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things it was highly probable would have happened, and the king acknowledged he believed so. After this confession I added, "It is true, I do not find "the bravery of my prince in this instance, but I "shall say nothing, because I know what it was that "withheld you." With this prince, I was not apprehensive my sincerity would have any bad consequences. He confessed all to me, though with some little confusion, alledging as an excuse his compassion for those who were in a state of humiliation, and the fear of disobliging his mistress.

AFTER this the conversation turned wholly upon news: his majesty had just received letters from the queen of England, expressing her desire of sending an ambassador to him, to induce him, as we imagined with great probability, to continue the war. By other letters, from Bellièvre and Sillery, he was informed, that the legates had offered, in the name of Spain, to restore all the cities, except Cambray, that had been taken during the war. The king's carrying troops into Brittany, without being under a necessity of leaving Picardy defenceless, had given great surprise to Spain, and satisfaction to the court of London, ever solicitous to humble the pride of that crown. I advised Henry not to refuse a peace for the sake of a single city, and to be satisfied with having driven the enemy out of Picardy and Brittany.

THIS latter province, which had panted for tranquility a long time, was sensible how much it owed to his majesty, whose presence at the head of an army was the only thing that could procure them that happiness. The party of Mercœur became the king's party. The Spaniards were not in a condition to hold out long against their united forces. Blavet * and Douarnenes, where they were cantoned in the greatest numbers, could not fail of yield-

* Blavet is now called Port-Louis, and lies in the bishopric of Vannes: Douarnenes is another port and road, in the bishopric of Quimpers.

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ing ſoon to the common lot, and a few days were ſufficient to clear the province entirely of its foreign enemies, who afterwards aſſembled her ſtates, in order to prove her gratitude to the king, by granting him a conſiderable ſubſidy. His majeſty commanded me to continue my rout to Brittany, and while I waited there for his arrival, to pay the troops, and quarter them in caſerns in the neighbourhood of Rennes and Vitré, with ſtrict orders to keep up an exact diſcipline there: after which I was to go to Rennes, to repreſent his majeſty's perſon in the ſtates, to haſten their reſolutions concerning the ſums that were promiſed, and uſe all my authority to facilitate the levying it. The king having an inclination to ſtay ſome days longer at Angers, laid hold of the pretence, that ſomething was ſtill wanting to the treaty with the duke of Mercœur.

I HAD no reaſon to be offended with the ducheſs of Mercœur for having endeavoured to procure the moſt favourable conditions ſhe could, yet I ſo far reſented her making the king the dupe of her arts, that if his majeſty had not obliged me to make her a viſit, I would have left Angers without ſeeing her; although I was related to this lady by the ſame ſide by which I had the honour to be allied to the royal family, that is, by the houſe of Luxembourg *.

THE king remonſtrated to me, that if the conſideration of being related to her, together with the laws of politeneſs, were not ſufficient to induce me to pay her this reſpect, yet the ducheſs of Mercœur deſerved it on account of that regard ſhe had for me, which the knowledge of my intentions could not alter. In effect, I was received by her and madam de Martigues with the higheſt diſtinction and reſpect. Madam de Mercœur, after ſome gentle reproaches for having endeavoured to hurt her intereſt, and that of her daughter, my little kinſwoman, told me, that

+ Jane de Bethune, daughter to Robert, the ſixth anceſtor to M. de Sully, was married to John de Luxembourg.

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there was nothing she so ardently desired, as to be able to put the affairs of the duke her husband into my hands, that I might conclude this treaty with the king in whatsoever manner I thought fit. I answered the duchess, that while my respect and adherence to her were not inconsistent with the service of the king, which always carried me against any other consideration, she should find nobody more disposed to serve her than myself.

I WENT to Château-Gonthier that evening, and reached * Vitré the next day, where I saw but too plainly of what importance it was to be extremely cautious and circumspect in quartering troops, that nothing might be neglected. Messieurs de Salignac and de Moüy, marechals de camp, were of great use to me on this occasion. Tranquility was so perfectly established in all this part of the country, that the countrymen who at first had retreated to the woods, and fortified themselves there, where every moment they were ready to come to blows, now returned to their houses; and the city of Rennes thought that some acknowledgment was due to me: for this reason, when the states were assembled, a fine apartment was prepared for me during my abode in that city, at the house of mademoiselle de la Riviere: she was a woman of wit and gallantry, who being always looking out for pleasures for herself, was the fitter for the commission with which she was charged, of engaging me in all the entertainments which are commonly found in cities like Rennes, opulent and polite. If the life of a minister was to be at all times like that which I led in this city, and which lasted almost six weeks, it would have in reality all those charms which are falsly attributed to it. I had no other employment than being present at the assembly of the states, who, with all possible gratitude, agreed to the service the king required of them, and granted him, without

* In Anjou.

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any oppoſition, eight hundred thouſand crowns; of which one hundred was to be paid the firſt month, as much the ſecond, and afterwards two hundred each month, till the whole was paid. To furniſh this ſum, a tax was created of four crowns upon a pipe of wine. The aſſembly were deſirous of adding a preſent of ſix thouſand crowns to me, which I refuſed, without examining whether this was among the number of thoſe occaſions when I might have been permitted to have accepted a preſent. The king, to whom the merit of my diſintereſtedneſs had been highly exaggerated, and who had himſelf beſtowed more praiſes on my conduct in the aſſembly, than it deſerved, was reſolved, that the expence of a preſent to me ſhould be his, and inſtead of ſix, gave me ten thouſand crowns. During ſix and twenty years, which I had ſpent in his majeſty's ſervice, I had never received ſo conſiderable a gift. On this occaſion there was a kind of generous conteſt betwixt the king and the province of Brittany; which at laſt obtained, that theſe ten thouſand crowns ſhould be added to the eight hundred thouſand the aſſembly had offered his majeſty.

THE treaty with the duke of Mercœur being completed, the king ſent it to the chamber of accounts at Rennes to be regiſtered. As ſome private articles in this treaty were not expreſſed, the court thought it had a right to refuſe regiſtering it, without certain reſtrictions with reſpect to theſe articles. Henry, who knew better than any other prince in the world how far the power of theſe ſovereign courts extended, and always appeared careful not to make the leaſt encroachment upon it, reſented this refuſal with becoming ſpirit; and, together with the diſpatches which I received from him regularly every day, he ſent me an order in writing for the chamber of accounts, in which he obſerved, that this court could not be ignorant, that in all treaties or acts relating merely to war or the king's perſon, the ſovereign of France

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France took counsel with no person, nor demanded his letters to be registered but as a formality, which otherwise was little essential; he reproved them for their rash conduct, and ordered them to repair their disobedience by an absolute submission to his will.

The king did not shew less firmness on another occasion that likewise regarded the sovereign courts. These bodies assumed the privilege of furnishing immediately but half of the sum which the assembly had taxed them for their contingent, and endeavoured to take a more convenient and more distant time for the payment of the rest: they made the same difficulties about their share of the necessary contributions for the maintenance of those troops which they had demanded themselves. Henry easily comprehended, that they would not have had recourse to this artifice, but to avoid contributing any thing, as soon as he had quitted the province: therefore, he sent me word, that it was his will they should furnish the whole tax; which was done accordingly. Their murmurs on account of paying the troops ceased, as soon as they were convinced that the tranquility of their province depended upon this regulation, and they were the first after that to approve of my conduct.

These several orders were sent to me from Nantes, to which place the king had advanced, after the treaty with the duke of Mercœur had been agreed upon, to attend to two affairs of importance, namely, the edict for the protestants, and the reception of the two ambassadors from England and Holland. His majesty, believing his presence in Picardy was necessary to forward the peace, intended to have left Nantes in a month's time, without taking a journey to Rennes, which he had looked upon as useless; and had already given orders for the march of the five regiments of Navarre, Piedmont, the Isle of France, Boniface, and Bréauté, which he drew out of Brittany, to fortify the frontier of Flanders. The king

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king having informed me of his deſign with reſpect to theſe regiments, I repreſented to him, that the probability of a peace being now changed to an abſolute certainty, it was neceſſary to diſband part of his troops, and leſſen the number of his garriſons, as being a burden too heavy for the kingdom to ſupport, and that two of thoſe regiments were now ſufficient for Picardy; accordingly, only the two firſt were ſent thither, under the conduct of the marechal de Briſſac. I even inſiſted ſo much upon the neceſſity there was for his majeſty to ſhew himſelf at leaſt in the capital of Brittany, that the king, altering his ſcheme, reſolved to come and ſpend ſome days there before his return to Paris; and for that purpoſe, to diſpatch, as ſoon as poſſible, thoſe two affairs that detained him at Nantes.

It was now become more neceſſary than ever, to regulate that concerning the proteſtants: theſe people aſſumed ſuch a licentiouſneſs of tongue in France, that the king himſelf did not eſcape the rage and malignity of their invectives. The remonſtrances his majeſty had made to the authors of the plot before mentioned, were ſo far from bringing them back to their duty, that, in appearance, it ſerved only to make them uſe their utmoſt efforts to bring the whole proteſtant party in their ſeveral ſynods †, to the moſt violent reſolutions: madam de Rohan did not ſcruple to cabal with many of them, in order to carry, by a plurality of voices, the propoſal of taking up arms, and forcing the king to receive ſuch conditions as they ſhould preſcribe to him; in which attempt ſhe was ſeconded, with ſurprizing aſſiduity, by d'Aubigné, remarkable for his ſatirical turn, and propenſity to ſlander ‡. It was he who in thoſe aſ-

† At Shumur, Loudon, Vendôme, and Châtelleraut; of theſe we have ſpoke before, on occaſion of the cabals of the proteſtant party during the ſiege of Amiens.

‡ He is ſuppoſed to be the author of the Confeſſion of Sancy, the Adventurers of the baron de Faneſte, and other lampoons.

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ſemblies had the aſſurance to mention, that they ought no longer to place any confidence in a prince who, together with his religion, had abjured every ſentiment of his affection, good-will, and gratitude, for the proteſtants, that nothing but neceſſity forced him to apply to them and treat them with regard; that when this was over, he would have no longer any care about their conſciences, liberties, or lives; that the peace with Spain, which was upon the point of being concluded, would plunge the party into the utmoſt diſtreſs, ſince the ſole motive that induced Henry to conſent to it, was to unite himſelf with that crown and the pope, to ſacrifice them to their common hatred; and therefore, that nothing remained to be done, but to take advantage of the king's perplexity during ſo toilſome a ſiege ‡, the diſtreſs he was in for money, the need he had of their aſſiſtance, and the power which the duke of Mercœur ſtill poſſeſſed in Brittany, to obtain by force what Henry would afterwards refuſe to grant them.

To incite the members of theſe aſſemblies to a revolt, the proteſtants thought the blackeſt calumnies were lawful. D'Aubigné was not aſhamed to repreſent Henry there, as a prince to whom all religions ‖ were indifferent, and who was only zealous for that which would ſecure him a throne §. This was the notion he wanted to give of his con-

‡ The ſiege of Amiens.

‖ M. de Sully is very much to be commended for ſacrificing to the love of truth all intereſt and conſideration for a party, as he does here, and in a thouſand other places of his Memoirs, eſpecially as he is ſo ſtrongly attached to his religion; which he has always ſhewn: but in every one of theſe paſſages he furniſhes us with very ſtrong weapons againſt himſelf: and after having laid open, in this manner, the deſigns and the ſpirit by which the whole body of the reformed in France were actuated, there is no perſon but will agree, that the ſtate had reaſon to apprehend every thing from them.

§ "There are three things," ſaid Henry IV. "which the world "is very unwilling to believe; and yet, for all that, they are ſtill "true and moſt certain; namely, that the queen of England died a "maid; that the archduke is a great general; and that the king of "France is a very good catholic." Journal de l'Etoile, p. 233.

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verſation. According to him, the ſuppoſed injuries offered to the proteſtants left no room to doubt of the new ſyſtem of politics that Henry had formed for himſelf. Thoſe injuries opened d'Aubigné a vaſt field for exclamation; the leaſt of them were repreſented as outrages of the moſt violent nature, and inſtances of the deepeſt treachery; and thus, without any regard to the extreme injuſtice he was guilty of, he placed to the king's account all thoſe hardſhips which proceeded ſolely from the catholics or the court of Rome. The duke of Bouillon, leaving others to declaim, ſupported d'Aubigné, by his uncommon dexterity in ſowing diviſion between the king and all that came near him, whether catholics or proteſtants, and created him ſufficient employment, that he might not for a long time be at liberty to turn his arms againſt him. The taking of † Mende by Foſſeuſe, and the fitting out of the count d'Auvergne, were the conſequence of theſe counſels.

None of theſe perſons neglected to make their court to the ambaſſadors from England and Holland, as ſoon as they arrived at Nantes; and depended ſo much the more upon drawing them into their ſchemes, as they were not ignorant, that it was particularly recommended to them to prevent a peace with Spain. Theſe ambaſſadors were, Lord Cecil ‡, ſecretary to queen Elizabeth, and Juſtin de Naſſau, admiral of the Republic: they demanded a private audience of the king; or, if that could not be obtained, at leaſt to have no one preſent but Lomenie and me. But I was then employed at Rennes.

If the two ambaſſadors had given credit to the proteſtants, all they had to do was to intimidate the king, and force him by menaces to come into their

† In the Givaudan.

‡ This was not the ſecretary himſelf, whoſe name was William, but his ſon Robert. De Thou, liv. cxx. See likewiſe Chronol. Septennaire for the year 1598, concerning this interview of Henry IV. with the Engliſh and the Dutch ambaſſadors.

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designs; but either this was not in their power, or being convinced of the protestants injustice, they thought it beneath them to be influenced by their passions; and therefore took no notice to the king of what they had suggested. They had indeed offers to make, that were much more likely to prevail with a prince, whose inclination for war they were not ignorant of: the English ambassador offered, in the name of the queen his mistress, six thousand foot and five hundred horse, to be maintained at her expence; and Nassau four thousand foot, and a large train of artillery completely furnished and supplied, besides a particular supply, which they hinted would be very considerable, provided Henry would endeavour to retake Calais and Ardres. Upon the supposition that the king appeared inclined to accept these offers, the two ambassadors had orders to conclude a treaty of alliance immediately between France, England, and the Low-Countries, against Spain, and to stipulate that neither of these three powers should listen to any proposal, either for a truce or treaty with the common enemy, but with the consent of the two others.

HAPPILY the king escaped this dangerous snare; and the consideration of the present state of his kingdom had more weight with him than all others. He thanked the ambassadors with great politeness, and introduced his answer by assuring them that, although he could not accept the offers of their sovereigns, yet he would not depart from that friendship which had so long subsisted between them; and that the peace he was going to conclude with Spain (for he did not conceal the terms he was upon with Philip) should not hinder him from keeping up the same correspondence with them as before, nor from supplying them with money, when they had occasion for it, with this only precaution, that these loans were taken under the title of acquittances of debts, to give no pretence for a quarrel with Spain.

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He afterwards, with the same sincerity, explained to them all his reasons for putting an end to the war. His kingdom, he told them, was not like England and Holland, secured by nature from the attacks of her enemies, but open on all sides; his castles unfortified, and destitute of ammunition; his marine weak, his provinces laid waste, and some of them reduced to mere deserts. He went on to give a more particular description of the abuses that had crept into the government, and introduced a thousand disorders; all subordination being destroyed by the licentiousness that had been practised with impunity amidst the confusion of civil and foreign wars; his power weak, and unstable, and the royal authority, as well as the most sacred laws of the state, equally disregarded. These evils could only be remedied by a peace; and if that remedy was ever so little delayed, France was every hour approaching to its ruin, the distemper would soon reach the heart, and no human help would then be able to remove it. Henry did not forget to strengthen these motives, by a comparison of his present situation, in all these respects, with that of England and Holland, who could engage in a war, on which their safety depended, consistently at the same time with their safety and their interest; and the king drew this parallel with so much clearness and judgment, and so exact a knowledge of the state of those countries, as to make them feel the truth of what he was saying; so that the two foreigners, having nothing to oppose against such convincing arguments, looked upon each other in amazement. The king gave them to understand, that, when he had settled the affairs of his kingdom, he should then, with more assurance of success, renew his former designs against the empire, and the house of Austria; but that these two enterprises were not of a nature to be executed at one and the same time. The ambassadors, for form's sake, thought they ought to dissuade his majesty from his

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reſolution, but did it ſo faintly, being themſelves ſtruck with the force of his arguments, that, before the conference was ended, the king brought them over entirely to his opinion, and obliged them to confeſs, that the peace he was going to conclude was for the advantage of all Europe. They left France ſoon after, and filled their reſpective countries with the opinion they had conceived of the great wiſdom and extraordinary abilities of the king of France.

In effect, what innumerable miſeries would this prince have drawn upon his kingdom, if following the wild emotions of hatred and revenge, rather than the calm dictates of wiſdom and prudence, he had at that inſtant engaged in a war, which, though in his power to begin, was not to end! How dreadful the conſequence, if chance, which arbitrarily diſpoſes of all the events of war, ſhould have favoured the enemies of France! But granting that his arms were victorious, how little preferable to a defeat is that ſucceſs, which a prince muſt purchaſe at ſo dear a rate, as by the alienation of his domaines, by the anticipating and mortgaging his revenues, by the ruin of commerce and agriculture, from whence France derives her chief ſupport, and laſtly, by the utter devaſtation of his province! Such evils cannot be balanced by the acquiſition of new territories, the poſſeſſion of which keeps the conqueror in perpetual alarms, and, remaining as ſo many hateful monuments to the enemy of the ambition and injuſtice of him that gained them, cheriſhes and keeps alive thoſe ſeeds of envy, hatred, and diſtruſt, that ſooner or later never fail to produce the ſame miſeries with which the kingdom was before overwhelmed: on this account, I am not afraid to ſay, that, in the preſent ſtate of Europe, it is almoſt equally unhappy for its princes to ſucceed or miſcarry in their enterprizes; and that the true way of weakening a powerful neighbour, is not to carry

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off his ſpoils, but to leave them to be ſhared by others.

THE inſolence of the proteſtant cabal was totally depreſſed, when they found that the ambaſſadors, upon whom they had ſo greatly relied, were entirely brought over to the king's opinion; and, not doubting but that a peace now would be ſoon concluded, they thought only of procuring reaſonable conditions. It was happy for them that at a time when it would have been eaſy to puniſh them for their unjuſtifiable proceedings, they had a prince to deal with whoſe reaſon was always ſtronger than his reſentment. Both ſides were then very induſtrious to draw up that famous agreement known by the name of the edict of Nantes, by which the rights of the two religions were afterwards both clearly explained and ſolidly eſtabliſhed. Schomberg, the preſident de Thou, Jeannin, and Calignon, were employed to draw it up, of which all I ſhall ſay is, that, by this edict, it was provided that the French calviniſts, who till then had been only privileged by truces reſumed and continued, ſhould have a fixed and durable eſtabliſhment †. All that now remained to be done, was to make this treaty be regiſtered and confirmed by the parliaments and ſovereign courts, and to begin with thoſe of Paris; which was deferred till the king's return to that city.

† The edict of Nantes was ſigned the 13th of April. De Thou ſays, that the judicial confirmation of it was put off till after the departure of the legate, whom they were loth to ſend away diſcontented. The conceſſions this edict contains, more favourable than thoſe that had been formerly granted them, are, that thereby they were admitted to places of truſt, both in the courts of juſtice and in the finances: all the reſt is no ways eſſentially different from the edict of pacification that paſſed in 1577. Bayle aſcribes the honour of compoſing the edict of Nantes to the reformed miniſter Chamier. See it in Matthieu, tom. II. book. ii. and ſeveral other hiſtorians. There were likewiſe ſome ſecret articles, of which the moſt diſadvantageous for the calviniſts is that which forbids them the exerciſe of their religion in a great many towns and particular diſtricts, as Rheims, Soiſſons, Dijon, Sens, &c. becauſe Henry IV. had ſo engaged himſelf by particular treaties before, with the different lords of the league.

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HAVING paid what he owed to the proteſtants *, according to the exacteſt juſtice, the king thought himſelf not obliged to ſhew much regard to thoſe who ſtill continued to ſtir ſedition, ſuch as the duke of Bouillon in particular, who had moſt reaſon to reproach himſelf, and for once, he reſolved to ſpeak to him like a maſter: he had now acquired a right to do this, even though we ſuppoſe him not to have had it in the character of king. He propoſed as ſoon as he arrived at Rennes, to execute this deſign, and took his rout thither without delay. The duke of Bouillon then lodged at the houſe of l'Alloué, where he was confined to his bed by the gout: the king went to viſit him, and after the firſt compliments, ſignifying that it was his pleaſure to be left alone with the duke, the reſt of the company quitted the chamber, and his majeſty deſired that he would, without interruption, hear what he had to ſay to him. He began with a particular detail of all his proceedings, to ſhew that he was not ignorant of any of them: he dwelt chiefly upon ſome ſteps the duke had taken ſince the edict of Nantes, and were therefore ſo much the more criminal, as it ought to have prevented him from entertaining a thought of revolting againſt a prince who had ſo generouſly adhered to his intereſt. The duke attempted to offer ſomething in his excuſe, but he was ſtopped by the king, who told him, that without any juſtification, he would from that day forget all that had paſſed; and ſince he had pardoned whatever the moſt inveterate malice had been able to ſuggeſt to his enemies, he had no inclination to exclude from his favour an old ſervant, with whom he had been pleaſed for a long time: in concluſion, he adviſed the duke, with an air of authority, which be-

* Le Grain mentions a good ſaying of Henry IV. One day as the proteſtants were importunately teaſing him with their demands, "Apply to my ſiſter," ſays he to them, "for your affairs are now "fallen into the hands of women to conduct them."

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came him better as he uſed it ſeldom, to make good uſe of the council he was now giving him as his friend, to think no more of his paſt behaviour, but for the ſake of acting in a manner quite contrary; for if he ſhould again fail in his reſpect to his king and maſter, he was reſolved to make uſe of that convenience which the peace now eſtabliſhed in the kingdom gave, to bring him to puniſhment: after which the king, without waiting for his anſwer, went out and left him to his own thoughts.

The inhabitants of Brittany were charmed with the affability of their king, and his complaiſance in being preſent at all the entertainments with which the ladies contended to divert him. Henry divided his time between theſe aſſemblies, the ſport of running at the ring, balls, and tennis-playing, without leſſening his aſſiduity about the marchioneſs of Monceaux, who was very far advanced in her pregnancy.

In the midſt of theſe amuſements, the king at certain intervals appeared ſo penſive and reſerved, that it was not difficult to gueſs ſome ſecret uneaſineſs preyed upon his mind; and I was the more convinced of it when his majeſty, who often diverted himſelf with hunting, ordered me twice to follow him apart, that he might have an opportunity of converſing with me alone; yet when I did ſo he was ſilent. I then remembered that the ſame thing had happened at Saint-Germain, and Angers; and I concluded that he had a deſign in view, which he had ſome difficulty to diſcloſe to me, knowing with what freedom I ſometimes oppoſed his opinions; but what this deſign was I could not poſſibly gueſs. Returning from the abovementioned viſit to the duke of Bouillon, his majeſty being at the foot of the ſtair-caſe, ſaw me as I entered the court, and calling me, made me go with him into the garden, which was extremely large and beautiful, holding my hand with his finger between mine as uſual, then ordered

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ordered the door to be ſhut, and that no perſon ſhould be allowed to enter.

THIS prelude made me expect to hear a ſecret of great conſequence. Henry did not enter upon it immediately, but, as if he had not ſufficient reſolution to explain himſelf, began to tell me what had juſt paſſed between him and the duke of Bouillon. This converſation was followed by news relating to the negotiations of Vervins, and laid him inſenſibly to reflect on the advantages France would receive from a peaceable government. One circumſtance, the king ſaid gave him great uneaſineſs, which was that, not having children by the queen his wife, it would anſwer no purpoſe to be at ſo much trouble to procure peace and tranquility to his kingdom, ſince, after his death, it muſt neceſſarily fall into its former calamities, by the diſputes that would ariſe between the prince of Condé and the other princes of the blood, concerning the ſucceſſion to the crown. His majeſty confeſſed to me, that this was his motive for deſiring, with ſuch ardour, to leave ſons behind him. Unleſs his marriage with the princeſs Margaret could be diſſolved, it was not poſſible for him to be abſolutely happy; but the informations he received from the archbiſhop of Urbin, meſſieurs de Perron, d'Oſſat, and de Marquemont, his deputies at Rome, of the pope's favourable diſpoſitions in reſpect to that affair, gave him great hopes of its ſucceſs: in effect, Clement the eighth, who was as good a politician as any prince in Europe, revolving in his mind what means were moſt likely to hinder France, and the other chriſtian kingdoms, from falling again into a ſtate of anarchy and confuſion, could find none ſo effectual as to ſecure the ſucceſſion of the crown of France, by authoriſing Henry to engage in a ſecond marriage, which might produce him male children.

OUR converſation being fixed upon this ſubject, it was eaſy for me to perceive that it was from hence

his majesty's uneasiness proceeded; but I could not so soon know what particular circumstance it was that disturbed him. The king began to consider with me what princess of Europe he should chuse for his wife, in case his marriage with Margaret of Valois should be dissolved; but indeed he set out with a declaration that shewed any reflections on that head would be fruitless. "That I may not repent, "said he, of taking so dangerous a step, nor draw up- "on myself a misfortune which is with justice said "to exceed all others, that of having a wife dis- "agreeable in person and mind, it is necessary that "in her whom I marry I should find these seven "things, beauty, prudence, softness, wit, fruitful- "ness, riches, and a royal birth;" but there was not one in all Europe, with whom he appeared entirely satisfied. "I should have no objection to the "infanta of Spain," pursued Henry, "although "she is a little advanced in years, provided that "with her I could marry the Low-Countries, even "though I should be obliged to restore to you the "earldom of Bethune: neither would I refuse the "princess Arabella* of England, if, as it is publicly "said, that crown really belongs to her, she were "only declared presumptive heiress of it; but there "is no reason to expect that either of these things "will happen. I have also heard of some princesses "of Germany, whose names I have forgot; but "the women of that country don't suit me: I should "always fancy I had a hogshead of wine in bed "with me; besides, I have been told that France "had once a queen of that country, who had like "to have ruined it: all these considerations have

* The marchioness Aibelle, or Arabella Stuart. She was daughter to Charles, earl of Lenox, who was grandson to Margaret queen of Scotland, eldest sister to Henry VIII. Her cousin-german James VI. king of Scotland, having in 1602 been declared lawful heir to queen Elizabeth, the following year a conspiracy was formed in her favour; and she died in 1616, a prisoner in the Tower of London. See the historians.

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" given me a diſguſt to the German ladies. The " ſiſters of prince Maurice have likewiſe been men- " tioned to me; but beſides that they are proteſtants, " which would give umbrage to the court of Rome " and the more zealous catholics, they are daughters " of a nun; which, together with a certain reaſon " that I'll inform you of ſome other time, has " prevented my entertaining any thoughts of them. " The duke of Florence has a niece who is ſaid to " be handſome, but ſhe is deſcended from one of the " moſt inconſiderable families in Chriſtendom that " bear the title of prince, it not being above threeſcore " or fourſcore years ſince her anceſtors were only the " firſt citizens in Florence: ſhe is likewiſe of the ſame " race with the queen-mother Catherine, who did ſo " much miſchief in France, and to me in particular.

" THESE," continued the king, obſerving that I liſtened attentively to him, " are all the foreign " princeſſes that I have any knowledge of: of thoſe " within my own kingdom my niece of Guiſe " would pleaſe me beſt *, notwithſtanding the ma- " licious reports that have been ſpread that ſhe loves " *poulets* in paper better than in a fricaſſee; for my " part I not only believe thoſe reports to be falſe, " but ſhould rather chuſe a wife who is a little fond of " gallantry, than one who wanted underſtanding; " but I am apprehenſive that the violent affection " ſhe diſcovers for her family, particularly for her " brothers, would create ſome diſorders in the " kingdom."

AFTER this the king named all the other princeſſes in France, but to as little purpoſe: he acknowledged that ſome were beautiful, and genteel, ſuch as

* Louiſa Margaret of Lorrain: ſhe was a very beautiful princeſs. It was propoſed, at the time of the ſiege of Paris, for her to marry Henry IV. in order to unite the two parties. The ſarcaſtic lampoons of that time charge her with carrying on an intrigue with the duke de Bellegarde, maſter of the horſe: and what Henry ſays here of *poulets*, is taken from a ſong that was made againſt mademoiſelle de Guiſe, which may be ſeen in l'Etoile, for the year 1596.

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the eldeſt of the duke of Maïenne's two daughters, although of a brown complexion, the two daughters, likewiſe of the duke of Aumale, and three of the duke of Longueville; but all theſe were either too young, or were not in his taſte. He afterwards named mademoiſelle Rohan, the princeſs of Conti's daughter, of the houſe of Lucé; mademoiſelles Luxembourg and Guémené; but the firſt was a proteſtant, and the ſecond not old enough, and the perſons of the two others did not pleaſe him: and all for ſome reaſon or other were excluded. The king cloſed this enumeration by ſaying, that although theſe ladies might be all agreeable enough to him in their perſons, yet he ſaw no way to be aſſured that they would bring him heirs, or that he could ſuit himſelf to their tempers, or be convinced of their prudence, three of the ſeven conditions without which he had reſolved never to marry; ſince, if he entered into an engagement of that kind, it would be with a deſign to give his wife a ſhare in the management of all his domeſtic affairs; and that, as according to the courſe of nature, he ſhould die before her, and leave children very young behind him, it would be neceſſary that ſhe ſhould be able to ſuperintend their education, and govern the kingdom during a minority.

WEARY at length of endeavouring to no purpoſe to find out what the king aimed at by this diſcourſe, "But what is it you mean, ſire," ſaid I, "by ſo many affirmatives and negatives; and what I am to "conclude by them, but that you are deſirous to "marry, and yet cannot find a woman upon the "earth qualified to be your wife? By the manner "in which you mentioned the infanta Clara Eugenia, "it ſhould ſeem that great heireſſes are moſt to "your taſte; but can you expect that heaven "ſhould raiſe a Margaret of Flanders, or a Mary "of Burgundy, from the dead for you, or at leaſt "reſtore the queen of England to her youth?" I added

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ded ſmiling, "that for proof of the other qualities "which he demanded, I ſaw no better expedient "than to bring all the beauties of France together, "from the age of ſeventeen to that of twenty-five, "that by talking with them in perſon, he might "know the turn of their temper and genius; and "that for the reſt he ſhould refer himſelf to expe- "rienced matrons, to whom recourſe is had on ſuch "occaſions." Then beginning to talk more ſeriouſly, I declared that, "in my opinion, his ma- "jeſty might contract his expectations, by ſtriking "off a great fortune and royal birth, and content him- "ſelf with a wife who was likely to keep his heart, "and bring him fine children; but that here again "he muſt content himſelf with mere probability, "there being many beautiful women incapable of "child-bearing, and many illuſtrious fathers un- "happy in their offspring‡; but that whatever his "children ſhould prove, the blood from which they "ſprung would ſecure the reſpect and obedience of "the French nation."

"WELL," interrupted the king, "ſetting aſide "your advice concerning this aſſembly of beauties, "with which I am mightily diverted, and your ſage "reflection that great men have often children who "poſſeſs none of their qualities, I hope to have ſons "whoſe actions ſhall exceed mine. Since you "confeſs that the lady whom I marry ought to be of "an agreeable temper, beautiful in her perſon, and "of ſuch a make as to give hopes of her bringing "children, reflect a little, whether you do not "know a perſon in whom all theſe qualities are "united." I replied, that I would not take upon me to decide haſtily upon a choice wherein ſo much

‡ The author, on this head, mentions, very improperly, Ninias, Anaxindaris, Nebucodonoſor, Cyrus, Alexander, Trajan, Conſtantine, and Charlemagne. I likewiſe retrench in this converſation, as in many other paſſages, ſeveral diſcourſes that are too prolix, and full of uſeleſs erudition.

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consideration was requisite, and to which I had not yet sufficiently attended. "And what would you "say," returned Henry, "if I should name one, "who, I am fully convinced, possesses these three "qualities." "I should say, sire," replied I, with great simplicity, "that you are much better ac- "quainted with her than I am, and that she must "necessarily be a widow, otherwise you can have "no certainty with regard to her fruitfulness." "This is all that you would desire," said the king, "but if you cannot guess who she is, I will name "her to you." "Name her then, said I, for I own "I have not wit enough to find out who she is." "Ah! how dull are you," cried the king, "but I "am persuaded, you could guess who I mean if "you would, and only effect this ignorance to "oblige me to name her myself; confess then that "these three qualities meet in my mistress: not" pursued the king (in some confusion at this dis- covery of his weakness) "that I have any intention "to marry her, but I want to know what you would "say, if, not being able to meet with any other "whom I could approve of, I should one day take "it into my head to make her my wife."

It was not difficult for me to discover, amidst these slight artifices, that his majesty had already thought of it but too much, and was but too well dis- posed to this unworthy marriage, which every thing he had said tended to justify. My astonishment was indeed very great, but I thought it necessary to con- ceal my thoughts with the utmost care: I affected to believe that he was jesting, that I might have an opportunity of answering in such a manner as might make the king ashamed of having entertained so ex- travagant a notion. My dissimulation did not succeed; the king had not made so painful an effort to stop there. "I command you," said he to me, "to "speak freely; you have acquired the right of tell- "ing me plain truths; do not apprehend that I "shall

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" ſhall be offended with you for doing ſo, provided
" that it is in private; ſuch a liberty indeed in pub-
" lic would greatly offend me."

I REPLIED, that I would never be ſo independent as to ſay any thing in private, any more than in public, that might diſpleaſe him, except on ſuch occaſions when his life, or the good of the ſtate was in queſtion. I afterwards repreſented to him the diſgrace ſo ſcandalous an alliance would draw upon him, in the opinion of the whole world, and the reproaches he would ſuffer from his own mind upon that account, when the ardour of his paſſion being abated, he ſhould be able to judge impartially of his own conduct. I ſhewed him that if this was the only means to which he could have recourſe to free France from the calamities a doubtful ſucceſſion would occaſion, that he would expoſe himſelf to all the inconveniencies he was anxious to avoid, and others ſtill greater: that although he ſhould legitimate the children he had by madam de Liancourt, yet that could not hinder the eldeſt, who was born in a double adultery, from being, in this reſpect, inferior to the ſecond, whoſe birth was attended with but half that diſgrace; and both muſt yield to thoſe whom he might have by madam de Liancourt after ſhe was his lawful wife: this bye circumſtance making it impoſſible to ſettle their claims, could not fail of becoming an inexhauſtible ſource of quarrels and war. " I leave you, ſire," purſued I, " to make
" reflections upon all this, before I ſay any more."
" That will not be amiſs," returned the king, who was ſtruck with my arguments; " for you have
" ſaid enough of this matter for the firſt time." But ſuch was the tyranny of that blind paſſion, to which he was ſubjected, that in ſpite of himſelf he reſumed the diſcourſe that very moment, by aſking me if, from the diſpoſition I knew the French to be of, eſpecially the nobility, I thought he had any reaſon to

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apprehend they would riſe in rebellion, while he was living, if he ſhould marry his miſtreſs.

THIS queſtion convinced me, that his heart had received an incurable wound: I treated him accordingly, and entered into arguments and expoſtulations, with which I ſhall not trouble the reader, ſince his own imagination may ſuggeſt to him all that it was neceſſary to ſay upon this ſubject, which has been already dwelt upon too long. We continued three hours alone in the garden, and I had the conſolation to leave the king in a full perſuaſion of the truth and reaſonableneſs of all I had ſaid to him.

THE difficulty lay in breaking thoſe too powerful ties; the king had not yet brought himſelf to that point: he had many dreadful * conflicts of mind to

* In this inward ſtruggle, the voice of reaſon and decorum had not the ſtrongeſt ſway with Henry IV. and even though M. de Sully does here and elſewhere ſay it, the world has always been perſuaded, upon very good grounds, that, if the death of his miſtreſs, whom he ſo tenderly loved, had not prevented this prince, he would either have married her, or he would not have married again at all. He was not always directed on this head by the ſole advice of the duke de Sully, at leaſt if we believe a very curious anecdote, which may be ſeen in vol. 9590 des MSS. de la Bibliot. du Roi; where it is obſerved, that Henry IV. being at Saint-Germain-en-Laye (this was probably but ſome months at moſt after his return from Brittany, ſent for his three miniſters (M. de Roſny, de Villeroi, and de Sillery) to conſult with them about this ſo important a queſtion, relating to his marriage; and that the firſt (who to be ſure was M. de Roſny) was of the ſame opinion as is mentioned in this place of his Memoirs: that the ſecond adviſed him on the contrary not to marry, but leave the ſucceſſion to the prince de Condé, who by birth-right was his true heir: and that at laſt the third (this was M. de Sillery, the moſt artful courtier of the three) in oppoſition to both the former advices, told him, that the beſt thing he could do was to marry his miſtreſs, and legitimate the eldeſt of the children he had by her. Henry IV. (continues the author of this anecdote, who plainly ſhews himſelf to be a perſon to whom one of the three miniſters themſelves had communicated what had paſſed between the king and them) I ſay Henry IV. ſeemed ſurprized at this, and afterwards ſaid, "I had "promiſed myſelf a great deal from your ability and fidelity, by the "advice I wanted of you with regard to my marriage; yet ſtill I fear, "that inſtead of having ſatisfied me, you have only increaſed my ir"reſolution by the contrariety of your opinions, which are backed "with ſuch ſtrong reaſons, that I find myſelf not a little embarraſſed "as to the judgment which I ſhould make as to the beſt of them; as

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ſuffer ere that could be effected; and all he could do for the preſent, was to defer taking his laſt reſolution till he had obtained the permiſſion he had been ſo long ſoliciting from the pope, and till then to keep his ſentiments ſecret. He promiſed me not to acquaint his miſtreſs with what I had ſaid, leſt it ſhould draw her reſentment upon me. "She loves "you," ſaid the king to me, "and eſteems you ſtill "more; but her mind ſtill entertains ſome remains "of diſtruſt, that you will not approve of my deſigns "in favour of her and her children: ſhe often tells "me, that when one hears you perpetually talking "of my kingdom and my glory, one is apt to think "that you prefer the one to my perſon, and the "other to my quiet." I anſwered, that againſt this charge I could make no defence; that the kingdom and the ſovereign were to be looked upon with the ſame eyes: "Remember, ſire, added I, that your "virtue is the ſoul that animates this great body, "which muſt, by its ſplendor and proſperity, repay "you that glory and happineſs that it derives from "you, and that you are not to ſeek happineſs by "any other means." After this we left the garden, and it being night ſeparated, leaving the courtiers to rack their imaginations in vain to gueſs the ſubjects of ſo long a conference.

NEITHER the king nor I had attended to a circumſtance abſolutely neceſſary on ſuch occaſions, which was Margaret's conſent to the diſſolution of her marriage: I conceived it to be highly proper to enter upon this negotiation while we expected the ſucceſs of that which was carrying on at Rome. I was willing firſt to ſound the intentions of the princeſs; therefore the ſubſtance of the letter I wrote to her on this ſubject was, that, moſt ardently deſiring a reconciliation between her and the king, upon which France founded her hopes of having a law-

"to that therefore I require a little time to conſider of it," &c. and after he had ſaid this, he got up and diſmiſſed them.

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ful heir to the crown, I thought it my duty to intreat she would authorise me to use my utmost endeavours to effect this reconciliation; but that, if the inclinations of both parties were such as to render this attempt fruitless, or that it should not conduce to the purpose I mentioned to her (a point I was sensible the sterility of this princess would make her secretly agree to) I hoped she would not be offended if I should afterwards take the liberty to persuade her to make a still greater sacrifice, which the state expected from her. I did not explain myself any farther, but after what I had mentioned just before, upon the necessity of giving legitimate children to the crown of France, it was not difficult to guess what I meant by this sacrifice.

The queen took time to deliberate upon a matter of such importance, before she sent me an answer; which I did not receive till five months after I had written to her: it was dated from Usson *, where she usually resided, and was such an one as we would have wished for, prudent, modest, and submissive. Margaret, without explaining herself any more than I had done, upon a separation that was not yet publicly talked of, was contented with substituting, instead of it, an assurance that she would readily submit to the king's will; adding the most candid praises of his conduct, and thanks to me for my solicitude and cares.

The king staid at Rennes but seven or eight days, resolving to set out as soon as possible for Paris, that he might reach Picardy the beginning of May: he took his rout through Vitré †, from whence I re-

* This princess had at first retired, many years before, to Agen, and afterwards to Carlat. King Henry III. her brother, had not treated her better than Henry IV. her husband, but persecuted her every where, and at last shut her up in the castle of Usson in Auvergne, where, after his death, she was contented to live.

† I have substituted this word in the place of that of Villeroi, as the original bears: there never was a place of that name in Brittany; and, in fact, Henry IV's road lay through Vitré.

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ceived orders from him to give a gratuity to the garriſon of Rochefort, and afterwards to cauſe the caſtle to be razed. From Vitré his majeſty coaſted along the Loire, and came to Tours, by the way of la Fleche, which he took pleaſure in ſeeing again, it being the place where he had paſſed part of his time in his youth.

I STAID behind him at Rennes five or ſix days, to put the affairs of the finances in order, pay the troops, ſettle their departure from Brittany, and their march through the midſt of the provinces; after which I came to Tours to the king; his majeſty having ſent for me upon an affair of great importance. I left him to continue his journey to Paris, whither (notwithſtanding all the haſte he was able to make) he did not arrive till the latter end of May. I was ſo weary † of the formality of our reception into the great cities, and particularly of the long ſpeeches that we were tormented with in every place, that taking a bye-road by le Maine and le Perche, I came alone to my eſtate at Roſny, where my wife was employed in attending the building of a houſe, and had narrowly eſcaped being cruſhed to pieces under the ruins of the old edifice, which was firſt to be demoliſhed. I ſtaid there but a ſhort time, yet upon my arrival at Paris, I found the king was gone from thence; he had only paſſed through it, and taken the road to Amiens immediately: this city he thought convenient for correſponding with

† The king was no leſs ſo. L'Etoile relates ſome very ſmart repartees of his majeſty to theſe importunate haranguers; one of them tired him with long titles and compellations of honour, and repeating often, "O very benign, O very great, O very merciful, &c. king," "Add too, ſays Henry to him, and very weary." Another having begun his ſpeech with theſe words, "Ageſilaus, king of Lacedemon, "fire," &c. The king, interrupting him, ſays, "*Ventre, ſaint gris!* "I have heard a good deal ſpoken of this Ageſilaus, but he had dined "firſt; but, for my part, I have not yet." Having twice told another, that he ſhould cut ſhort his harangue; and ſeeing that he went on tediouſly nevertheleſs, he left him, and ſo went away, telling him, "You muſt ſay the reſt then to maſter William," meaning the fool that belonged to the court.

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the plenipotentiaries at Vervins, and likewise for visiting all the fortresses upon the frontiers, to facilitate the evacuation of those that were to be restored to him by the treaty, and to provide for their security for the future. All this was but the work of eight days, and his majesty was no sooner come to Paris than the treaty was signed ‡.

THE treaty was very clear and plain: the resignation of all the towns and fortresses that Spain possessed in France was almost the only considerable article in it. No difficulty arose concerning the affair of the marquisate of Saluces; the king did not think fit to break off the peace on account of this article, which was looked upon to be of so little importance, that if Savoy should refuse to do justice in it, the king, it was said, might, with very little trouble, seize the whole territory, without any obstruction from Spain. Both parties, however, obliged themselves to stand to the pope's † decision of the affair. Here the plenipotentiaries committed an error, which was the cause of engaging his majesty soon after in a war that might have been avoided. I shall take no notice of the rest of those formalities in use amongst

‡ On the 2d of May 1598, the peace was signed, in the name of the king, "by M. Pomponne de Bellièvre, knight, lord of Grignon, "and counsellor of state to the king, and M. Nicholas Brulart, knt. "lord of Sillery, counsellor of state to the king, and president in his "court of parliament at Paris. In the name of the cardinal of Au- "stria, having full powers from the king of Spain, by M. John "Richardot, knight, chief and president of the privy council of his "said majesty, and one of his council of state; M. John Baptiste de "Taxis, knight, &c. and M. Louis Verreiken, knight, &c." See this whole treaty in the *Memoires & negotiations de la paix traités à Vervins*, tom. II. with an account, in form of a journal, of all that passed between the plenipotentiaries, from the opening of that negotiation till the conclusion of the peace.

† What regards the duke of Savoy, who was represented by M. Gaspard de Geneve, marquis de Lullin, and counsellor of state, &c. is at the end of the 24th article, and imports, "that the remainder of "the other differences that are between the said most christian king, "and the said duke, shall be referred to the judgment of our holy fa- "ther Clement VIII. to be determined by his holiness within one "year . . . And matters shall continue in the state in which they "are at present," &c.

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them ‡, and leave it to others to extol thoſe refined ſtratagems that in politics are thought the maſterpiece of human wit.

THE king ſigned the treaty at Paris, in the preſence of the duke d'Arſcot †, and the admiral of Arragon; the arch-duke did the ſame at Bruſſels, in the name of the king of Spain and his own, before marechal Biron, on whom the king, to qualify him for this ceremony, had juſt beſtowed the rank of duke and peer of France, a dignity that completely turned his head. Meſſieurs de Bellièvre and de Sillery were likewiſe preſent. The duke of Savoy gave his ſolemn aſſent to the peace at Chamberry, in the preſence of Gadagne Bothéon *, governor of Lyons, who was deputed to him from the king for that purpoſe.

THUS, notwithſtanding a league ſo powerful as that of the pope, the emperor, the king of Spain, the duke of Savoy, and all the eccleſiaſtics of chriſtianity, did the king of France accompliſh his de-

‡ There were found the ſame difficulties as to the ſubſtance, and the ſame obſtacles as to the formalities that are uſually to be met with in ſuch ſort of deliberations. They may be ſeen in the *Lettres de M. de Bellièvre & de Sillery*, and in the *Relation*, &c. ibid. Theſe two negotiators have been generally commended for the firm and wiſe conduct which they ſhewed therein. In their letters, and, among others, in thoſe dated the 7th of April, and 4th of March, they give a particular detail of the motives that induced them to conclude with the agents for the duke of Savoy in the manner which M. de Sully complains of: and all this they did by the particular orders of his majeſty, in his letter of April 9, &c.

† Charles de Croy, duke d'Arſcot and prince de Chimay; don Franciſco de Mendoſa and Cardona, admiral of Arragon. Henry IV. took an oath for the obſerving of the treaty of peace on Sunday the 21ſt of June, the cardinal de Florence, the pope's legate, officiating in the moſt ſolemn manner. The account is alſo to be met with, ib. tom. II. p. 266. of the MSS. de la Bibliot. du Roi, vol. 9361. Mem. de la ligue, tom. VI. Mem. de Nevers, tom. II. Matthieu, tom. II. liv. ii. Cayet, and others.

* "He is ſtyled," in the oath taken by the duke of Savoy on the 2d of Auguſt, "the illuſtrious lord, William de Gadagne, lord of "Bothéon, knight of the orders of the moſt high and moſt excellent "prince Henry IV. the moſt chriſtian king of France and Navarre, "counſellor in his council of ſtate, captain of fifty gens-d'arms, and "his

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ſigns ‡, and crown them with a glorious peace: all thoſe that had been employed in effecting it, he rewarded with a royal munificence; and to prevent this meaſure from alienating Holland from his intereſts, he ſent Buzenval to Amſterdam, to keep up a good intelligence with the States, and to pay the penſion his majeſty allowed them. It is not poſſible to reflect on the great abilities of this prince, and his ſurpriſing diligence in ſhewing himſelf in every part of his kingdom where his preſence was the leaſt neceſſary, without giving him thoſe praiſes he ſo well deſerves.

BOOK X.

PEACE brought with it other labours and other cares. The king began by reducing the number of his troops, both French and foreigners: the Swiſs, except three companies of an hundred men each, commanded by the colonels Galati, Heid, and Baltazar, were diſbanded. This reduction was not ſo complete as I could have wiſhed, and the neceſſity of the times ſeemed to require; but my advice on this head was not approved by his majeſty: however, if it had been conſidered that the royal treaſure was almoſt exhauſted, and yet that there was an abſolute neceſſity of furniſhing money for many occaſions ſo urgent, that new ſums were obliged to be borrowed

" his lieutenant-general in the government of the Lyonnois, Forêt, " and Beaujolois, ambaſſador, intruſted and deputed," &c. Mem. & Negociations, &c. tom. II. p. 365.

‡ The letters which this prince wrote to his two miniſters at Vervins, during all the time that this negociation laſted, confirm this. They are inſerted in the Mem. & Negociations, &c. ibid. He ſays, " that with one ſtroke of his pen he had performed more exploits " than he could have done during a long war with the beſt ſwords of " his kingdom." It was alſo ſaid, upon this treaty, that the Spaniards had got the better by arms, but the French by negotiation.

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for that purpoſe, I am of opinion that I could not have been reproached with a ſordid and miſplaced œconomy.

THESE ſums were to be applied to the fortifying a great number of towns, and the repairing of many buildings, that by the late diſorders of the times were threatened with approaching ruin, which it was neceſſary to prevent without delay. Upon viſiting the chief rivers of the kingdom, to ſettle the different claims (a buſineſs which was truſted to four perſons of known probity) it was likewiſe found neceſſary to raiſe ſeveral works, particularly upon the Charente.

AMONGST other political regulations which were thought neceſſary to be made, the king ſet bounds to that prodigious quantity of grain, which it was uſual to ſend out of the kingdom, and which often expoſed France to ſuffer the greateſt inconveniencies from a ſcarcity of her own produce †: by another regulation, all that had no right to wear ſwords ‡

† The moſt juſt conſequence which it would ſeem can be drawn from all the reaſonings we read and hear daily upon this point, namely of exporting corn out of the kingdom, is that which the duke de Sully infers here. It would be unreaſonable to deprive this kingdom of one of the moſt happy reſources, and one of the richeſt ſupports of its commerce, by forbidding all exportation of this ſort of commodity: and it would be no leſs imprudent to allow it without meaſure or proportion.

If to find this proper medium, the public and royal magazines do not appear to be anſwerable and ſufficient expedient, by reaſon of the great expences and ſtill greater inconveniences that attend them; it would ſeem that the objection cannot be made againſt commiſſaries that might be eſtabliſhed to take care that the granaries of private perſons might be filled, opened, and ſhut, whenever the public exigencies required it. This part of political œconomy, whoſe great and almoſt ſole view ſhould be to know and to keep up the proportion betwixt the productions of the earth and their conſumption, by fairly balancing the different years and different provinces, is not, I believe, ſo difficult as at firſt it appears.

‡ As to the regulation of carrying arms, ſeveral perſons are of opinion that it would be proper to add ſome diſtinguiſhing marks in the form of the cloaths, that might ſerve to make known in public the different ranks of people.

As to arts and ſciences, and the belles lettres: if it be true, as it appears, that it cannot be doubted, that it is to the care that has been

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were forbid, upon pain of the ſevereſt puniſhments, to appear in them.

AMIDST theſe occupations, polite literature was not excluded from a ſhare of the king's attention. He heard Caſaubon mentioned, and upon the reputation of this learned man, he invited him to come and ſettle in Paris with his family, where he fixed him by a penſion that afforded him the means of living as became a man of his character, who is not called, ſaid Henry, to govern the ſtate.

I AM under neceſſity of ſuppreſſing a detail of leſs important incidents, the number of which would be infinite, were I to recount in theſe Memoirs all that his majeſty ſaid or wrote to me from Fontainebleau, Monceaux, and Saint-Germain-en-Laye, where he paſſed the remainder of this year, and where, from time to time, he commanded my attendance to con-

taken for ſome years paſt to cultivate them in Europe, we owe the difference that may at this day be obſerved among Europeans, with regard to the ſoftneſs of their manners, the politeneſs of their behaviour, their connexion with each other, and the means which a more pacific ſpirit has found out to diſcuſs and terminate, in a leſs cruel manner, their reſpective differences: it appears that, by all kinds of public motives, independently of that of the glory and particular intereſt that reſults from it, a great ſtate ought not to loſe ſight of this object. After all the care which has been already taken in this kingdom, in order to form and eſtabliſh a library, muſeums, and collections of all kinds, that might be worthy of the powerful monarch that rules it, to inſtitute academies where perſons apply themſelves to improve the arts and ſciences; the world expects with impatience to ſee the deſign executed that was formed ſome time ago, namely, to accommodate all theſe different parts a little more to one another, in ſuch a large town as Paris, by bringing them all within the ſame walls, where one might conveniently find all, at once, as books, inſtruments, printing-houſes, and, in general, all the neceſſary implements, together with proper accommodations for lodging the perſons appointed and ſet over to inſpect and take care of them; and eſpecially, to ſee eſtabliſhed a tribunal of arts and ſciences, conſiſting of proper perſons in the different academies, and paid by his majeſty, to make exact trials, and form a preciſe judgment concerning books, diſcoveries, and productions that might be uſeful to the public. At firſt there was an intention to make the ſquare or place Vendôme ſerve for this purpoſe; after this the old Louvre was pitched upon: but exigencies of ſtate that are ſtill more neceſſary to be attended to, have ever ſince made the execution of his project be deferred.

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fer with me upon different occaſions. I ſhall exactly fulfil my former promiſe, in ſuppreſſing all that are not in themſelves of ſome conſideration; and ſhall only obſerve here, that perhaps no miniſters of ſtate ever found in their prince more attention, or more readineſs of expedience, with reſpect to all that could promote either the advantage or the mere convenience of a kingdom, than I found in the prince whom I ſerved. Neither peace, nor domeſtic affairs, made him neglect to obſerve what was doing in the neighbouring courts: the queſtion about the true or falſe Don Sebaſtian ‡ made then a great noiſe in Europe as well as in Spain. He ſent la Tremouille § into Portugal, to endeavour if poſſible to unravel the myſtery, that he might not, but upon full conviction, determine upon the juſtice or iniquity of the council of Spain, which had begun their meaſures by cauſing the ſuppoſed king of Portugal to be arreſted.

HENRY, not having yet explained himſelf concerning thoſe great ſchemes which he afterwards formed againſt the houſe of Auſtria, was deſirous of acting this year as a mediator between Spain and England; he therefore propoſed a conference to be held at Boulogne ‡ between the two crowns, and ſent Caumar-

‡ This queſtion ſeems at preſent to be pretty well decided, by the authority of far the greateſt part of the beſt hiſtorians, who make no doubt but that king Sebaſtian loſt his life in the battle he fought with the Moors at Alcaçar, in 1578; and conſequently that this pretended Don Sebaſtian was but an impoſture, ſupported both at that time and ſince by the enemies of Spain. See the proofs of this king's death in M. de Thou, book lxv. of which we ſhall ſay more in the ſequel. France could beſides have meddled in this queſtion another way. Catharine de Medicis pretended to have a rightful title to the crown of Portugal, alledging that ſhe was deſcended of Robert, ſon to Alphonſus III. by Maude his firſt wife, who died in 1262. Since which time ſhe maintained, that all the kings of Portugal were no other than uſurpers: but as theſe were points very difficult to be decided, it appears, that ſhe made but little progreſs in making good her pretenſions.

§ Claude de la Tremouille, duke de Thouars, who died in 1606.

‡ This conference or congreſs, into which were admitted the ſtates

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tin and Jeannin, to assist at it in his name. It was in vain that I opposed a measure, which seemed to me to be founded in very bad policy; happily, however, this conference produced nothing that had been expected from it. The obstinate hatred these two nations bare to each other, gave rise immediately to so hot a dispute about precedency, that they separated before they had even begun to settle the smallest preliminary.

The jesuits were not more fortunate in their endeavours to take advantage of that article in the treaty of Vervins, by which all French exiles as well as foreigners were at liberty to return into France and settle there; the arret of council which intervened, deprived them of this resource, and they were obliged to make use of other means that succeeded better.

The assembly of the clergy that was held this year, and continued part of the following, shared likewise his majesty's attention, as well as the promotion of cardinals. The son of madam Sourdis † was one of those Frenchmen for whom the king procured a hat, although he was too young to be thought worthy of that distinction. Madam de Sourdis owed this favour to the duchess of Beaufort's interest, whom she prevailed upon to support her request.

This was the title the king's mistress now bore, for which she quitted that of marchioness of Monceaux, when the birth of a second son drew from his majesty an increase of tenderness and honours. This lady had for a long time set no bounds to her ambition; she aspired at nothing less than being declared queen of France; and Henry's passion for her, which increased every day, gave her hopes of accomplishing her designs. When she was informed that the king's agents at Rome were commissioned to solici-

of the United Provinces, was not held till the year 1599, in the months of May and June.

† Francis d'Escoublau, cardinal de Sourdis, and archbishop of Bourdeaux, who died in 1628.

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cit the diſſolution of his marriage with Margaret, and that his majeſty was on the point of ſending the duke of Luxembourg † to that court with the title of ambaſſador, to haſten the concluſion of it, ſhe looked upon this to be a favourable opportunity; but ſuſpecting the agents, and probably the new ambaſſador, ſhe caſt her eyes upon Sillery, who was already deep in her intereſt, and whom this laſt inſtance of confidence would not fail of binding ſtill cloſer to her ſervice: ſhe ſent for him, and explaining her views to him, ſet no bounds to the reward which ſhe pretended to give for his ſervice and devotion. As ſhe knew what was moſt likely to tempt Sillery, ſhe aſſured him of the ſeals at his return from Rome, though at the hazard even of diſobliging madame de Sourdis her aunt and intimate friend, and promiſed him likewiſe the poſt of chancellor, as ſoon as it ſhould be vacant. At this price Sillery engaged, with all the oaths ſhe demanded from him, to neglect nothing that might prevail upon the pope to legitimate the two children ſhe had by Henry, and to diſſolve his marriage with Margaret. This firſt ſtep taken, few obſtacles remained to hinder her advancement to the throne. She eaſily found reaſons to make the king approve of the ambaſſador ſhe had choſen: the duke of Luxembourg was only ſuffered to ſet out, to be recalled as ſoon as Sillery ſhould be in a condition to take his place. The ducheſs was at no pains to conceal from the court the title with which ſhe had juſt graced her favourite; ſhe aſſiſted herſelf in preparing his equipages, and prevailed upon the king to give the neceſſary orders for Sillery's appearance with all the pomp and magnificence, by which the ſucceſs of his negotiation might be ſecured.

The ducheſs of Beaufort at the ſame time, to prepare the French for the change which ſhe medi-

† Henry de Luxembourg, duke de Piney, who was the laſt of that branch of Luxembourg.

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tated for her children, obtained of the king, who had no leſs tenderneſs for them than for the mother, that the ceremony of the baptiſm of the ſecond ſon ſhe had lately borne him, ſhould be performed at Saint-Germain, where his majeſty then was, with the ſame magnificence and honours which in this ceremony are only uſed to the children of France. Tho' I could pardon in this lady an intoxication in which ſhe was kept by the ſervile reſpect the courtiers paid to her children, and the adorations they offered to herſelf, I could not have the ſame indulgence for Henry, who was ſo far from taking any meaſures to undeceive her, that he gave orders for the baptiſm of this child, with a readineſs that ſhewed how agreeable the requeſt was to him. I declared my ſentiments of this proceeding with great freedom; I endeavoured publicly to oppoſe the inference which I perceived the courtiers would draw, in favour of children ſo dear to the king, for the ſucceſſion to the crown. The king himſelf, after the ceremony, became ſenſible that he had permitted too much, and told me they had exceeded his orders; which I had no difficulty to believe. The child was named Alexander *, as the eldeſt had been Cæſar; and the court flatterers, by a kind of ſecond baptiſm, gave him the title of *Monſieur*, which in France no one is allowed to bear but the king's only brother, or the preſumptive heir to the crown.

The miſtreſs did not ſtop here; ſhe began to aſſume all the airs of a queen, not indeed wholly thro' her own preſumption, for I think ſhe knew herſelf too well to have indulged ſuch extravagant ideas, but was driven on to take that ſtep by the continual ſolicitations of her creatures and relations: madam de Sourdis, Chiverny, and Freſne, ſeconded her ſo well on their parts, that it became inſenſibly the public

* They gave him the title of chevalier de Vendome. Lady Catherine, ſiſter to the king, and the count de Soiſſons, were the ſponſors at his chriſtening. He died grand prior of France, in 1629.

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talk of the court, that the king was going to marry his miſtreſs; and that it was for this purpoſe he was ſoliciting his divorce at Rome. I was ſhocked at a report ſo injurious to the glory of this prince: I went to him, and made him ſenſible of the conſequence of it. He appeared to me concerned, and even piqued at it: yet his firſt care was to juſtify madam de Beaufort, who, he poſitively aſſured me, had not contributed to the report; for which, all the proof he had was, that ſhe had told him ſo: he threw the whole blame upon madam de Sourdis and Freſne, to whom he ſhewed that he was capable of pardoning a conduct ſo little reſpectful to him, ſince, although he was aſſured they were guilty, he gave them not the ſlighteſt reprimand.

One circumſtance added great weight to the ſteps I took on this occaſion both in public and private. Queen Margaret, with whom the affair of the approaching diſſolution of her marriage obliged me to keep a correſpondence by letters, was the laſt who heard of what was ſaid and done at court. With regard to madam de Beaufort's pretenſions, as ſoon as ſhe was informed of them ſhe wrote to me, and gave me to underſtand, that ſhe had not changed her mind with regard to a ſeparation from the king, but that ſhe was ſo much offended at their intending to give the place ſhe reſigned to a woman ſo infamous as the ducheſs was by her commerce with the king, that although ſhe had at firſt given her conſent, without annexing any conditions to it, ſhe was now determined to inſiſt upon the excluſion of this woman; and no treatment whatever ſhould oblige her to alter her reſolution. I ſhewed this letter to the king, who judging by it how much his marriage with his miſtreſs would irritate the beſt of his ſubjects againſt him, began, in reality, to change his ſentiments and conduct.

I was of opinion, that if madam de Beaufort was acquainted with the contents of this letter, it might probably

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probably produce the ſame effects upon her. I would not take this trouble upon myſelf, being unwilling to meet the inſolence and rage of a woman, who looked upon me as a ſtumbling-block in the way of her advancement; but I communicated the letter to Chiverny and Freſne, who immediately informed madam de Sourdis of it, and ſhe almoſt in the ſame moment the ducheſs of Beaufort. But this lady's counſellors were not ſo eaſily alarmed; they were very ſenſible that the deſign they had undertaken to engage the king in, could not fail of meeting with many difficulties, and they had ſettled their behaviour upon each: the reſult of their deliberations had been, to haſten, as much as poſſible, the concluſion of the affair; perſuading themſelves, that when it was once over, they might give it a colour that ſhould make it excuſable; or, at worſt, matters would be compoſed after a little talk, as always happens when things were without remedy. They knew well the diſpoſition of the French nation, eſpecially the courtiers, whoſe firſt law it is to be always of the ſame mind with the ſovereign, and whoſe ſtrongeſt paſſion the deſire of pleaſing him. In a word, they thought themſelves ſecure of every thing, provided the king himſelf did not fail them.

Fresne having drawn up the warrant for the payment of the heralds, trumpeters, and other under officers of the crown, who had attended at the ceremony of the baptiſm, it was brought to me, as well as the reſt, that I might give my order for its diſcharge. As ſoon as I caſt my eyes upon this writing, a tender concern for the king's honour made me look upon it as a laſting teſtimony of his weakneſs, which was going to be handed down to poſterity. I heſitated not a moment to return it, and cauſed another to be drawn up in terms more proper. The titles of Monſieur, Son of France, and all, that could give any notion of that kind, was ſuppreſſed, and conſequently the houſhold fees reduced to the

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ordinary price, with which they were highly diſſatiſfied. They did not fail to renew their efforts; and in their diſcontent quoted Monſieur de Freſne, and the law by which their claims were regulated. At firſt I reſtrained myſelf before theſe people, whoſe bad intentions I well knew; but growing impatient at laſt I could not help ſaying to them, with ſome indignation, "Go, go, I will do nothing in it; know, "that there are no children of France."

No ſooner had theſe words eſcaped me, than ſuſpecting that a troubleſome affair would be made of it, to preveht it, I went immediately to his majeſty, who was walking with the duke d'Epernon in the palace of Saint-Germain: I ſhewed him the warrant Freſne had drawn up, telling him, that if it was allowed, there needed no more but to declare himſelf married to the dutcheſs of Beaufort. "This is "Freſne's malice," ſaid the king, after he had read it: "but I ſhall take care to prevent it." Then, commanding me to tear the paper, he turned to three or four lords of the court who were neareſt him, "How malignant are theſe people," ſaid he aloud, "and what difficulties do they throw in the "way of thoſe who ſerve me with fidelity: they "brought a warrant to monſieur de Roſny, with "a deſign to make him offend me if he paſſed it, or "my miſtreſs if he refuſed it." In the ſtate affairs then were, theſe words were far from being indifferent; they gave the courtiers, who had ſmiled at my ſimplicity, to underſtand that they might poſſibly be deceived themſelves, and that the ſuppoſed marriage was not ſo near as they had imagined. The king continuing to converſe with me apart, told me, that he did not doubt, but that madam de Beaufort was greatly enraged againſt me, and adviſed me to go to her, and endeavour, by ſolid reaſons, to give her ſatisfaction: "If that will not do," added he, "I will ſpeak to her as her maſter."

I WENT directly to the ducheſs's apartment, which

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was in the cloiſter of Saint-Germain. I knew not what notion ſhe conceived of a viſit which ſhe found I began with a ſort of explanation: ſhe did not allow me time to go on: the rage with which ſhe was animated not permitting her to obſerve any meaſures, ſhe interrupted me with a reproach that I had impoſed upon the king, and made him believe that black was white. "'Tis well, madam!" ſaid I, interrupting her in my turn, but with great calmneſs, "ſince you think fit to talk in this manner, I "ſhall take my leave, but I ſhall not, however, "neglect to do my duty." Saying this, I left her, not being willing to hear more, leſt I ſhould be tempted to ſay ſomething more ſevere. I put the king in a very ill humour with his miſtreſs, when I repeated to him what ſhe had ſaid. "Come along with me," ſaid the king, with an emotion that pleaſed me greatly, "and I will let you ſee that women do not "wholly poſſeſs me." His coach not being ready ſoon enough for his impatience, his majeſty got into mine: and as we drove to the ducheſs's lodgings, he aſſured me that he would never have cauſe to reproach himſelf, that, through his complaiſance for a woman, he had baniſhed or even diſguſted ſervants, who, like me, were only ſolicitous for his glory and intereſt.

MADAM de Beaufort, upon my leaving her apartment ſo haſtily, had expected to ſee the king ſoon after: and during that time had taken ſufficient pains to ſet off her perſon to the greateſt advantage, believing, like me, that the victory which one or other of us muſt now gain, would be the preſage of her good or bad fortune. As ſoon as ſhe was informed of the king's arrival, ſhe came as far as the door of the firſt hall to receive him. Henry, without ſaluting her, or expreſſing any part of his uſual tenderneſs, "Let us go, madam, ſaid he, to your cham-"ber, and ſuffer no one to enter but yourſelf, Roſny, "and I; for I want to talk to you both, and "make you live together upon friendly terms."

Then

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Then ordering the door to be ſhut, and that no one ſhould be ſuffered to remain in the chamber, wardrobe, or cloſet, he took her hand, holding one of mine at the ſame time, and with an air that ſhe had good reaſon to be ſurprized at, told her, that the true motive which had determined him to attach himſelf to her, was the gentleneſs he had obſerved in her diſpoſition; but that her conduct for ſome time paſt had convinced him, that what he had believed to be real was only diſſembled, and that ſhe had deceived him: he reproached her with the bad counſels ſhe had liſtened to, and the very conſiderable faults they had occaſioned. He covered me with praiſes, to ſhew the ducheſs, by the difference of our proceedings, that I only was truly attached to his perſon: he commanded her to get ſo far the better of her averſion for me, as to be able to regulate her conduct by my advice, ſince, ſhe might depend upon it, his paſſion for her ſhould never induce him to deprive me of his confidence.

MADAM de Beaufort began her anſwer by ſighs and tears; ſhe aſſumed a tender and ſubmiſſive air; ſhe would have kiſſed the hand of Henry; omitting no artifice which ſhe thought capable of melting his heart. It was not till ſhe had played over all theſe little arts, that ſhe began to ſpeak, which ſhe did by complaining, that inſtead of thoſe returns which ſhe might have expected from a prince to whom ſhe had given her heart, ſhe ſaw herſelf ſacrificed to one of his grooms; ſhe repeated all that I had ſaid or done to the prejudice of her children, in order to awake his majeſty's reſentment againſt me: then, feigning to ſink under the violence of her grief and deſpair, ſhe let herſelf fall upon a couch, where ſhe proteſted ſhe was determined to wait for her death, not being able to endure life after ſo cruel an affront. The attack was a little ſtrong; Henry did not expect it: I obſerved him heedfully, and ſaw his countenance change: but recovering himſelf immediately, that

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his miſtreſs might not perceive it, he continued to tell her in the ſame tone, that ſhe might ſpare herſelf the trouble of having recourſe to ſo many artifices on ſo ſlight an occaſion. Senſibly affected at this reproach, ſhe redoubled her tears, crying, that ſhe plainly perceived ſhe was abandoned, and that doubtleſs it was to augment her ſhame and my triumph, that the king had reſolved to make me a witneſs of the moſt cruel treatment that was ever ſhewn to any woman. This thought ſeemed to plunge her into a real deſpair. "By heaven, madam," ſaid the king, loſing patience, "this is too "much, I know to what all this artifice tends; "you want to prevail upon me to baniſh a ſervant "whoſe aſſiſtance I cannot be without: I declare "to you, if I was reduced to the neceſſity of "chuſing to loſe one or the other, I would rather "part with ten miſtreſſes like you, that one ſer-"vant ſuch as him." He did not forget the term of groom which ſhe made uſe of; and was ſtill more offended, that ſhe had applied it to a man whoſe family had the honour of being allied to his own.

AFTER this harſh ſpeech the king ſuddenly quitted the ducheſs, and was going out of her apartment without ſeeming to be moved at the condition he left her in; probably becauſe he knew her well enough to be aſſured that all this violence of grief was affectation and grimace. As for me, I was ſo far deceived by it as to be greatly concerned for her; and was not drawn out of this error till madam de Beaufort, perceiving the king was going to leave her ſo much offended, that ſhe had reaſon to apprehend he would never return again, changed her behaviour in an inſtant, ran to ſtop him, and threw herſelf at his feet; no longer to impoſe upon his tenderneſs, but to ſooth him to a forgetfulneſs of her fault: ſhe began by apologizing for her paſt conduct; aſſumed an air of gentleneſs and complacency,

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cency, and swore she never had, nor ever would, have any will but his. Never was there a change of scene more sudden: I now saw a woman perfectly agreeable, easy, and compliant, who behaved to me as if all that had just passed had been a dream; and we separated very good friends.

THE king being at Monceaux about the end of October, felt some slight touches of a fever, which ended at last in a violent attack*; it was attributed to a disturbance caused by a prodigious quantity of humours, which were discharged by a purge; and as the fever seemed to have wholly ceased, the king thought himself cured, and wrote to me to that effect; observing, however, that his indisposition had left a faintness and dejection upon him which was not usual with him, but that he would endeavour to disperse it by walking, if he could get strength enough. These symptoms were the forerunner of a distemper, which a few days afterwards seized him with such violence that he was soon in great danger, and I had the affliction to find him in this condition on my arrival at Monceaux, with Châtillon and d'Incarville, whom he sent for in the letter I have just mentioned. I thought for a long time that I was only come to see my dear master expire in my arms, for he would not permit me to leave Monceaux during his illness, and often called me to his bed-side. In one of these moments when the obstinacy and continual recurrence of his distemper baffled all the art of the physicians, and this prince himself thought that his last hour was approaching; "My friend, said he to me, you have often seen "me meet dangers which it was easy for me to

* In the following manner the historian Matthieu speaks of this disorder of Henry IV. "While he was very merry with his mistress "and Bellegarde, and laughing heartily at some satirical verses, he "was suddenly seized with a violent fit of vomiting, which kept "him for seven hours together in very great danger, all that time "having a constant desire to drink, and still throwing up the water "while the glass was at his hand." Tom. II. liv. ii. p. 277.

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"have

" have avoided, know better than any other person
" how little I fear death; but I will not deny that
" I am grieved to die before I have raised this king-
" dom to that splendor I intended for it; or con-
" vinced my people, by discharging them of part
" of their taxes, and governing them mildly, that
" I love them as my own children."

At length Henry's good constitution prevailed, and his distemper was removed almost instantaneously †; so that the grief into which his danger had plunged us, was followed immediately by the joy of his recovery. He had afterwards a slight relapse, which had no bad consequence: he sent me word of this at Paris, whither I had returned as soon as I saw him out of danger. And in another letter, dated the 6th of November, which Schomberg, at his return from Monceaux, brought me to Paris from his majesty, he informed me that his health was perfectly established, except that he had some small remains of that dejection on his spirits, of which he had formerly complained, and which he could not get rid of, notwithstanding he followed exactly the advice of his physicians. The sieurs Maresco't, Martin, and Rosset, having, upon the news of his illness, hastened to Monceaux to assist his physicians in ordinary with their advice, he had the attention to cause them to be paid for their trouble, writing to me to give each of them one hundred crowns, and fifty to Rignault his surgeon.

The king had not yet quitted Monceaux when the cardinal of Florence, who had so great a hand in the treaty of Vervins, passed through Paris, as he came back from Picardy, to return from thence to Rome, after he had taken leave of his majesty.

† It was during this malady that Henry IV. was very much troubled with a carneous excrescence; which served as a pretext to the duchess of Beaufort, to let him know, by means of la Riviere, his first physician, whom she had gained over to her interest, that he could, after this, have no more children. Amelot de la Houssaye, num. I. sur la lettre 243 du cardinal d'Ossat.

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The king sent me to Paris to receive him, commanding me to pay him all imaginable honours. He had need of a person near the pope so powerful as this cardinal, who afterwards obtained the pontificate himself: I therefore omitted nothing that could answer his majesty's intentions; and the legate having an inclination to see Saint-Germain-en-Laye, I sent orders to Momier, the keeper of the castle, to hang the halls and chambers with the finest tapestry of the crown. Momier executed my orders with great punctuality, but with so little judgment, that for the legate's chamber he chose a suit of hangings wrought by the queen of Navarre; very rich, indeed, but which represented nothing but emblems and motto's against the pope and the Roman court, as satirical as they were ingenious. The prelate endeavoured to prevail upon me to accept of a place in the coach that was to carry him to Saint-Germain; which I refused, being desirous of getting there before him, that I might see whether every thing was in order; with which I was very well pleased. I saw the blunder of the keeper, and reformed it immediately. The legate would not have failed to have looked upon such a mistake as a formed design to insult him, and to have represented it as such to the pope. Reflecting afterwards, that no difference in religion could authorize such sarcasms, I caused all those motto's to be effaced.

I HAD long hoped that a peace would afford me leisure to examine the finances of the kingdom thoroughly: all that I had hitherto been able to do, was only to alleviate the mischief; and far from having been able to dig to the root, so as to eradicate it at once, the different necessities of the state, which always followed each other so close during the war, made it be looked on as a great stroke of policy to manage the finances without increasing the confusion. It is certain that, upon a closer examination, they seemed tainted with an incurable dis-

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eaſe, which could not even be enquired into without the moſt unſhaken courage and invincible patience: the firſt glance was able to diſcover nothing but an univerſal loſs of credit, the royal treaſury indebted ſeveral hundred millions, no means of raiſing more money, exceſſive poverty and ruin at hand; but this very ſtate of deſpair made it neceſſary not to delay a ſingle moment the undertaking this great work, while ſeveral opportunities concurring ſhewed at leaſt a poſſibility of ſucceſs. Every thing was in tranquility; the pay of the troops conſiderably leſſened, the greater part of the military expences ſuppreſſed, the king's council weary at length of making uſeleſs endeavours to deprive me of any management of public affairs, almoſt all buſineſs was tranſacted by me; theſe gentlemen diſdained even to come to the aſſemblies, unleſs forced thither by their own intereſt, or that of their relations or friends: in thoſe aſſemblies nothing was propoſed without my approbation, and nothing executed without my conſent; the king had no ſecret he reſerved from me, nor any authority that he did not occaſionally inveſt me with; all theſe conſiderations perſuaded me that, if the calamities cauſed by ſo many long and cruel civil wars were ever to be repaired, now or never was the time to accompliſh it.

I HAD received from nature a ſtrong conſtitution, a body able to ſupport * long labours, and a

* The picture which M. de Perefixe gives us of M. de Roſny, altogether agrees with that which we have ſeen drawn here. He "had eſpecially, ſays he, a genius turned for the management of "the finances, and all the other qualifications requiſite for ſuch a "ſtation: in fact, he was a regular man, exact, and a great œconomiſt; "he was punctual to his word, no ways prodigal, without any pom- "pous oſtentation, not inclined to profuſe expence, game, or women, "nor addicted to any thing that did not exactly tally with a man bred "to ſuch an employment; beſides, he was vigilant, laburious, expe- "ditious, beſtowing almoſt his whole time on buſineſs, and but little "on his pleaſures: withal he had the happy dexterity of ſeeing thro' "ſuch ſort of matters, and of unravelling the puzzling perplexities, "and untying the intricate knots, under which the farmers of the "finances, when they have a mind to be knaviſh, endeavour to con- "ceal

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mind capable of great application, a natural propenſity to regularity and œconomy, improved by a particular ſtudy of that ſcience during twenty-five years, that I was near the king's perſon; and, if I may be allowed to ſay it, a paſſion yet more forcible for ho-

" ceal their tricks." Part. 3. P. Matthieu gives him no leſs high a character. Tom. II. liv. ii. p. 278. " The king gave him," ſays le Grain, " the poſt of ſuperintendant-general of his finances, inveſting " him with ſo great an authority as had never been ſeen in that of- " fice before: in which, it muſt be confeſſed, there wanted a man at " that time, who would have his eyes hood-winked to every other " conſideration but the king's advantage, that is, to the public trea- " ſure, which it was neceſſary to reſtore to its full vigour; and who " would be more rigid than what either the dignity of ſome perſons, " or the reſpect due to others, would have endured at any other time; " and indeed this great authority and power, which the king gave him, " did, in a little time after, reſtore full ſtrength to all the main re- " ſources of the ſtate." See the whole of what this writer ſays, with regard to M. de Sully, liv. vii.

" He put," ſays d'Aubigné, tom. III. liv. v. chap. 3. " the " finances into the hands of the marquis de Roſny, afterwards duke " of Sully, becauſe he found he had a very extenſive and laborious ge- " nius, as alſo a natural ſternneſs and ſeverity of temper, which, " without regarding the favour of any body, enabled him to bear the " unpleaſing irkſomeneſs of rebuffs; and by that means, filled the " king's coffers, to which the natural diſpoſition of his maſter did not " a little contribute."

In a ſmall piece, tom. III. of the Mem. d'Etat de Villeroi, we find the following account. " This change in the face of affairs, which " the ſaid ſieur de Sully had introduced into France, that had been " brought to the loweſt ebb of diſtreſs, rendering it opulent and " flouriſhing by means of his good management and induſtry, does " ſufficiently teſtify his abilities. The remonſtrances which he made, " even to the king's pleaſure, and the oppoſition which he main- " tained againſt all the great men, ſhew his virtue, prudence, and " courage. Even thoſe who envy him ſay, that he alone was of more " uſe to the public, and knew its intereſt better, than all the reſt of " the kingdom beſides." The manuſcript which we quoted in the preface, coincides with this: and further may be added the ſuffrage of the greateſt part of the hiſtorians and memoirs of that time, which all agree, that M. de Sully has, in ſtrict juſtice, deſerved the appellation of the moſt laborious, the moſt capable, the moſt upright, and eſpecially the moſt ſteady miniſter that ever was. The ſeverity, rigidneſs, and haughty carriage, which are almoſt the only faults with which he has been charged, ariſe from the laſt mentioned quality, that no doubt, was carried a little too far. We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more of it in the ſequel: but I thought myſelf obliged previouſly to add theſe teſtimonies, to the account he gives us, of his character and conduct.

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nour and virtue: such are the qualities I brought to the conduct of public affairs; with these, although one cannot keep clear of committing faults, and those likewise very considerable, yet (and experience as well as the success that attended my labours give me a right to say so) one may be assured that the revenues of a state are fallen into good hands, when a moderate degree of judgment, much diligence and exactness, and still more probity, are qualities remarkable in him that governs them. I dare not assume more likeness than this to the portrait I am going to draw of a good minister of the finances, because that, although I have always proposed such an one for my imitation, yet I candidly confess I am far from pretending to set up myself for a model.

It would be the shortest way to say, that a man who is called to the management of public affairs, ought to have no passions; but that we may not wholly destroy the notion of such a being, by reducing him to an impossible and merely ideal existence, it is sufficient to say that he ought to have such a knowledge of them, as to be able to avoid their influence: he should be sensible of all the meanness of pride, the folly of ambition, the weakness of hatred, and the baseness of revenge. As I intend only to make such reflections as immediately relate to him, I shall not here take any notice of the great meanness of treating people ill, not only by actions but even words, and of never giving orders to inferiors but in the transports of rage, or peevishness of ill-humour, seasoning them with oaths and curses, since, living for the public, he ought to appear affable, and be easy of access to every body, except to those who only come to him with a design to corrupt him, and never to lose sight of this maxim, which holds one of the first places in the affairs of government, That a kingdom ought to be regulated by general rules, and that excep-

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tions.

tions only occaſion diſcontent, and produce complaints.

A JUST knowledge of what is due to rank, and of different degrees of diſtinction, is ſo far from being contrary to this maxim, that it is eſſentially neceſſary to it, as well for obſerving thoſe rules of behaviour to perſons of different ranks, which the French politeneſs has eſtabliſhed, as to cure himſelf of that error that his riches and the favour of his king, place every other perſon in a ſtate of ſubordination to him. An inclination for the fair ſex is a ſource of weakneſs and injuſtice, which will inevitably carry him beyond the bounds of his duty; a paſſion for deep play, will expoſe him to temptations a thouſand times more difficult to be overcome by a man who has all the money of the kingdom paſſing through his hands; that he may eſcape this dangerous ſnare, I am under a neceſſity of preſcribing to him to have no acquaintance either with cards or dice.

A DISLIKE of fatigue proceeds generally from the ſame inclinations which lead to voluptuouſneſs, or create effeminacy. A ſtateſman ought in temperance to ſeek for a remedy againſt a fondneſs for ſplendor, and the delicacies of the table, which ſerve only to enervate both body and mind. A virtuous man ought to be wholly unacquainted with drunkenneſs; a diligent man ought to be no leſs ignorant of what is called high living. As he ought to make his retirement in his cabinet at all times, and all hours, not merely ſupportable, but pleaſing; he cannot be too careful to prevent his mind from running on the delights of balls, maſquerades, and other parties of pleaſure; in all theſe trifling amuſements there is a nameleſs inchantment, that intoxicates the hearts of philoſophers and miſanthropes themſelves.

THE ſame caution is neceſſary againſt hunting, keeping many ſervants, equipages, furniture, buildings,

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ings, and all other occaſions of expence that luxury has invented. A taſte for any of theſe things ſoon degenerates into a kind of paſſion, of which the waſte of time is not the only bad conſequence; prodigality, ruin, and diſhonour, are the uſual effects of it: it belongs only to a man who cannot reſolve to live and amuſe himſelf with his own company, to think continually of galleries, columns and gildings, and to run all his life after ſtatues, antiques, and medals. Do you learn to be contented with a common picture; the delicacy of procuring, at a great expence of money and anxiety of mind, original and other ſcarce pieces, proceeds wholly from an affectation of taſte.

I AM, however, far from carrying the ſeverity of theſe maxims ſo far, as to forbid a man, inveſted with a public employment, from having any attention to his own eaſe; and to deny him all kinds of amuſement. I would have him indulge himſelf in moderate pleaſures, and take care of his fortune, provided that he does the one without diſſipation, and the other without diſhonour. It is one of thoſe advantages that attends a diſpoſition not prone to expence, and fond of regularity, that he who is poſſeſſed of it, if he lives long, finds himſelf inſenſibly in affluent circumſtances. To have made a fortune, a phraſe that has ſo hateful a ſound, becauſe when it is applied to a man of buſineſs, it commonly means nothing but injuſtice, oppreſſion and cruelty; and when applied to a courtier, nothing but mean tricks, deſpicable flattery, cringing ſervility, and even at ſome times knaveries and treachery, is nothing more than a natural conſequence, and even an act of virtue, where all ſee that the fortune is only the reward of labour, or an honeſt recompence of good actions: that I may not be miſtaken, I will add, that this ought to appear ſo clearly as to force our greateſt enemies to ſee it and confeſs it *.

† A great part of the maxims which fill up chap. 8. part. 1. of the Political

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It ought therefore to be an eſtabliſhed rule, that every man who undertakes the management of the finances, or any other part of the miniſtry, ſhould make, and renew from time to time, a kind of acknowledgment of the ſtate of his income; that is, that upon his entrance into the miniſtry he ſhould draw up an exact and particular memorial of his preſent poſſeſſions, and upon his leaving it give in another in the ſame form; ſo that whatever alterations have happened in his fortune may be known to others as well as himſelf. I have already taken care to give the public an account of every augmentation of my fortune, and each new dignity that was conferred upon me, according to the different periods of time when they happened, and I ſhall ſtill continue this method: but as I look upon this affair to be ſubject to calculation, I am going to put every one in a way of doing it himſelf, and ſhall ſhew it completely done at the end of theſe memoirs.

My father's eſtate being equally divided between me and the only remaining brother out of four that I had, my ſhare of it, joined to my wife's fortune, which was ten thouſand livres, amounted only to fifteen or ſixteen thouſand livres a year; and as it increaſed but very little during five and twenty years when the king had no means of rewarding his ſervants, this was my whole income when the revenues of the ſtate were committed to my care. I am ſenſible that there are many perſons who would bluſh to make ſuch a confeſſion; but for my part I have already ſaid, that in this reſpect I ſee only one thing

Political Teſtament of the cardinal de Richelieu, that treats both of the council and counſellors of the king, is evidently taken from this and many other places of M. de Sully's Memoirs; and chiefly what he ſays of the four qualities requiſite to conſtitute a perfect counſellor, to wit, capacity, fidelity, courage or reſolution, and application. I ſhall have occaſion in what follows to make ſome remarks upon that which ſeems overſtrained in the maxims and manners of M. de Sully, with regard to what is called luxury.

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that ought to give occaſion for a bluſh, which is, the infamy of poſſeſſing riches either ill or doubtfully acquired: I have neither the reproach of extortion, confiſcation, or unwarrantable profits to apprehend; all that I added to my firſt fortune aroſe merely from the king's bounty to me, ſo that I owe all to one God, and one maſter.

WHAT I had been able to add to my fortune till the preſent year, 1598, amounted to the following ſums; an appointment of two thouſand livres a year as counſellor of Navarre; as much as counſellor of ſtate, with a penſion of three thouſand ſix hundred livres, which the king annexed to this poſt: my ſalary as member of the council, having been augmented by degrees, and in propoſition to the ſervices the king found he received from me, was, at this time, brought to twenty thouſand livres: the king doubled my company of gendarmes, which at firſt only conſiſted of fifty men, and after it was incorporated with that of the queen, of which I was made captain-lieutenant, the pay amounted to five thouſand livres: the king made me likewiſe honorary * counſellor of the parliament of Paris, but without any income. It was at this time, that Chauvelin the younger had the firſt diſpenſation that had been granted from the rule of forty days, paying for it four thouſand crowns. I ſhall make but one article of the government of Mante, which had been juſt then given me, and that of Gergeau which I had afterwards. Such was the ſtate of my fortune at that time, the courſe of it, till then extremely ſlow, became very rapid the following years, by the great offices with which his majeſty honoured me,

* The letters patent by which Henry IV. made the marquis de Roſny an honorary counſellor, and thereby gave him a privilege of ſitting in parliament, &c. dated March 16, 1602, may be ſeen in the regiſters of the parliament of Paris; as alſo the enrolment of theſe letters, and his admittance accordingly on the 19th of March the ſame year.

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and by rewards so considerable, that when I collect them together, they will make one of the most important articles. I shall take into it his least presents, and even those which I received from other royal persons. Before I enter into the discussion of affairs, and account of the finances which I have promised, since I have begun to inform the public of my personal character, I will finish the picture by giving a detail of my public employments, and my whole manner of living, after I was in a public employment: this is the proper place for it, although, in order to say all upon this head at one time, it is necessary I should suppose myself possessed of all those posts which were not given me till some time after.

Six days in the week a council was held both morning and evening; the first and most important was called the council of state and the finances, which singly took up the Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, by sitting both in the morning and afternoon; the king was the head of it, and was generally present. The dukes and peers, the officers of the crown, the knights of the king's orders, or those who had a warrant from his majesty, had a seat and a voice in the consultations: here were received and examined all kinds of petitions on any occasion whatever, but especially those relating to the pensions of state, which from this time began to be paid with a punctuality that made them be preferred to every other establishment, and even to landed estates. The three other days of the week were likewise taken up morning and evening with different councils, which were called *conseils des parties*, composed of a certain number of particular counsellors, where examinations were held of things properly referred to each of these councils: if there was any controversy, it was dispatched to the courts of justice to whose cognizance it belonged; and care was taken that justice should be done honestly and speedily. I was a member of each of these councils, and commonly

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monly presided in them when the king was not present, which often happened, especially in the *conseils des parties*, I never failed to be at the council of state, the whole business of which lay upon me: all the letters and petitions that were to be presented there were addressed to me; and as the questions that require general deliberations are not very common, it often happened that in communicating the affair, I delivered likewise the resolutions to be taken; and often carried thither arrêts ready drawn up, that every thing might be dispatched at one sitting; and it happened but very seldom that alterations were made. I have always laid it down as a rule, that the answers which were given for regulating the conduct of persons employed in great affairs, cannot be too expeditious, or too distinct; all the time that is spent in contestations is lost time.

It may be easily imagined how much time these employments demanded: I accustomed myself to rise at four o'clock in the morning, both in winter and summer; and the two first hours were taken up in putting in as much order as possible those affairs that were to be each day brought upon the carpet: a minister who acts otherwise will leave all things in confusion and perpetual disorder, by the different perplexities he will find himself involved in at last. At half an hour after six I was dressed, and ready to attend the council, which began at seven, and generally ended at nine; and according to the importance of the business that was transacted in it, at ten, and sometimes eleven o'clock. It often happened that his majesty, instead of coming to the council, would send for me at nine or ten o'clock, when it was over, and either alone, or with his two ministers of state *, Villeroi and Sillery, walk with us,

* Thus were those called then, who since have been intituled secretaries of state: and such as were named secretaries of state, as M. Forget, M. Lomenie, M. Beaulieu-Rusé, and M. Potier, were properly no more than four secretaries of the finances, or his majesty's first

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acquaint us with his intentions, and give each of us orders relating to our particular employments: from thence I went home to dinner.

My table generally consisted of ten covers; and being served with a moderation that was not approved of by the lords of the court, especially the epicures, who make a serious affair of refining upon every thing that is eat or drank, I seldom invited any persons to dine with me; so that my table was usually filled only with my wife and children, or at most with some friend who was not more difficult to be pleased than myself. Frequent attempts were made to alter my conduct in this respect, but I always replied to any reproaches of that kind, in the words of an ancient, That if the guests were wise, there was sufficient for them; if they were not, I could suffer the want of their company without trouble.

When dinner was over, I went into my great hall, where it was known that I regularly gave audience, and therefore at that hour always full: every one was admitted, and had free audience; the reply was no less speedy: herein my particular taste agreed perfectly with his majesty's intention. I began with the ecclesiastics of both religions: the country people, who remained last, were kept but a little time in expectation. I took care to dispatch every one's business before I retired; and even sent for those who, staying in the court or garden, had suffered

first clerks. Tho' it appears that none of the three hath been called prime minister of state, yet so unequally was the distribution of the functions of the ministry made between M. de Sully and his two collegues, and Henry IV. gave the first so great a share, and so much authority in what belonged to their province, that we may say he was in effect, prime minister, only that he had not the name: this title was not at that time much in use; for the chancellor du Prat, under Francis I. the constable de Montmorenci, under Henry II. &c. did not bear it, tho' they solely possessed the confidence of their masters. M. de Villeroi was at the head of foreign affairs, having also the president Jeannin for his collegue. M. de Sillery and Bellevre, who became chancellor some little time after, had the management of all domestic affairs.

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the hour to ſlip. If the affair that was propoſed to me was equitable, and depended upon me, I promiſed in two words the execution of it; if otherwiſe, I civilly chid the propoſer, and honeſtly forbore to meddle with it: if it appeared doubtful, or complicated, I called an intendant, or one of my ſecretaries, to whom I gave the papers that led to an explanation of it. And ſuch was my management, that the affair was totally diſpatched within a week, if I had promiſed it; and let the buſineſs be ever ſo much perplexed, the council before whom it was laid always diſpatched it within the month.

As to the other councils, which were held on Mondays, Wedneſdays, and Fridays, I aſſiſted at them likewiſe as long as I could, before the increaſe of my employments had likewiſe increaſed my buſineſs, and even afterwards; but when the direction of the marine, artillery, fortifications, buildings, bridges, and cauſeys, were entruſted to me only, to which muſt be added the affairs of my governments, I was obliged to apply to this buſineſs in the place of the other; and to devote the mornings of theſe three days to the diſpatch of buſineſs relating to theſe offices, becauſe his majeſty thought them of conſequence enough, eſpecially that of ſurveyor-general of the highways, and ſuperintendant of the fortifications and works, to be preſent at the clearing the accounts of each of theſe bodies of people, which was done in the preſence of the governors and other officers, who were called together in a body on theſe occaſions: notwithſtanding this, I did not neglect the other councils, but took care to be preſent when any important affair was debated, eſpecially when it related to war.

I REGULATED my time in ſuch a manner, that I had ſtill leiſure enough for thoſe other affairs, and alſo for many more which I have not yet mentioned. The extraordinary and unforeſeen buſineſs I was engaged in, the converſations I had with his majeſty, the

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the orders and letters I received from him, may be imagined by a general declaration, that this prince not only informed me of whatever happened to him, but alſo entruſted me with his moſt private affairs †, his ſecrets, deſigns, reflections, private diſtempers, pleaſures, domeſtic uneaſineſſes, fears, hopes, amours, friendſhips, and diſguſts; in a word, all was confided to my fidelity and diſcretion, terms which I am juſtly entitled to make uſe of. In all theſe moments to comply with the king's deſires and occaſions, there was an abſolute neceſſity to lay aſide the moſt preſſing buſineſs, to invent ſchemes, to go upon private errands, anſwer letters, and undertake journeys; by all which, the affairs of the ſtate would have been injured, if by giving the night as well as the day to theſe accidental employments, which were not regulated by months, days, or hours; an extreme diligence in reſuming thoſe affairs that had been interrupted by them, had not reſtored every thing to its proper ſtate.

ONE is ſurprized, in giving this detail, how, with ſuch an exact oeconomy of time, there ſhould remain ſo little for affairs merely domeſtic: the few moments I could ſpare for them, I was never able to find but in one of the afternoons of thoſe ſame three days; and theſe I ſnatched by intervals. It was neceſſary therefore that my wife ſhould accuſtom herſelf to do all that I was not abſolutely obliged to do; otherwiſe I muſt have relied upon people of buſineſs, or upon my domeſtics.

As to amuſements, and hours of eaſe and refreſhment, which were neceſſary to ſoften the fatigue of ſuch extreme application to buſineſs, they were regulated with as much exactneſs as my moſt ſerious affairs;

† "Never any miniſter had the confidence of his maſter more entirely than this had; and never was any more worthy of it, on account of his fidelity, activity, continual application to buſineſs, and diſintereſtedneſs in every thing that related to the king's ſervice." &c. Hiſt. de France de Ghalons, tom. III. p. 255.

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but, like them, ſubject to frequent interruptions: when, by good fortune, this did not happen, I had no occaſion to go out of the arſenal to find them; for it was in this caſtle that I reſided from the time I was made grand maſter till the death of my king, which gave me up to the tranquility of a private life. The exerciſes of the arſenal, which was an excellent ſchool for young people, gave the greateſt relief to my mind, eſpecially when I ſaw my children, my ſon-in-law, my relations and friends, mingled together: the good company which appeared in the afternoon at that little rendezvous, the exultations which were often heard, the air of gaiety without effeminacy, and of pleaſure without negligence, which appeared there, is, of all things which I know, moſt proper to relieve a mind to which, by long habit of labour, all the amuſements of mere idleneſs have been made inſipid. In whatever manner I ſpent the afternoon, when the hour of ſupper arrived, I ordered all my doors to be ſhut, and no perſon to be ſuffered to enter, unleſs he came from the king. From this hour, till I returned to bed, which I always did at ten o'clock, there was no longer any mention of buſineſs, all was eaſe, mirth, and ſocial joy, with a ſmall number of good and agreeable friends.

The office of prime miniſter, though at all times laborious, is not always loaded with the ſame difficulties; and the good fortune of thoſe is to be envied, who are called to it at a conjuncture, when the whole ſtream of affairs having for many years run on in a calm and regular courſe, they have nothing to do but ſit quietly at the helm, content themſelves with a general inſpection, and leave the reſt to be performed by that great number of perſons who act under their order. This advantage I never enjoyed, as may be perceived by what I have had occaſion to ſay of it at different times; and, not to touch yet upon the affairs of the finances, which was

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at that time an ocean without bottom or ſhore, I deſire the reader juſt to caſt a look upon the different perplexities which muſt be met with, without examining foreign affairs; a cabal of diſaffected people to watch narrowly, and, if poſſible, to break; a religious diſpute to terminate, a powerful party to ſatisfy, and a general ſubordination and ſcheme of government to eſtabliſh and cauſe to be obſerved. Things were in ſuch a ſtate, that of all thoſe officers of war and *police*, of the finances, judicature, and the king's houſhold, of penſioners, and thoſe that received ſalaries from the ſtate, nothing more was known than that their number was infinite, and that there was a neceſſity for learning their names, and marking them all in a regiſter, in order to ſuppreſs part of them.

THE affairs of war were in the utmoſt diſorder, the regulation of which did not, as may poſſibly be thought, depend upon the diſbanding part of the troops; there was a neceſſity for taking cognizance of all the towns and fortreſſes, moſt of which were ſo near deſtruction, that upon this account, as well as to leſſen the number of garriſons that were ſupported in France, thoſe that were uſeleſs were to be demoliſhed; which could not however be done till after the death of thoſe perſons from whom it would have been dangerous to take away the governments of them.

THE marine alone might have furniſhed buſineſs enough for one miniſter for a great number of years; for this part of the ſtate, which requires ſo much application, does not make a very rapid progreſs; it can be derived only from that quiet and ſplendor which a kingdom gains by peace and good government §. It is not to be imagined to what a degree

§ "A nation muſt be very powerful," ſays cardinal Richelieu, "after M. de Sully, to pretend to this inheritance, (the poſſeſſion of "the ſovereignty at ſea) the titles to it being founded more in force "than in reaſon." Teſtament politique de ce cardinal, part II c. ix. § 5, 6. Cardinal d'Oſſat, in ſeveral of his letters, adviſes Henry IV. to put his marine on a new footing.

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the marine, and the commerce that depended on it, had been neglected in France. I agreed with the king, that this eſtabliſhment ſhould be begun at the foundation; that the ſea-coaſts ſhould be viſited, and ports examined, in order to take meaſures for repairing them. That the ſame ought to be done with thoſe few diſabled veſſels and galleys that were yet to be found, till new ones could be built; after which, officers ſhould be appointed, and ſailors and pilots ſought for, who might be ſtimulated to induſtry by rewards: in a word, to ſpare a longer detail, that an abſolutely new marine ſhould be created.

ALL this could not be performed but by degrees, and a little at a time. The finances being that part of the body of the ſtate which was moſt diſeaſed, required aſſiſtance firſt: the greatneſs of the evil may be imagined, by an inventory of the ſums which were drawn from the exchequer to bring over the heads and other principal members and cities of the league to the king's party. This inventory has ſomething curious enough; it amounted to more than thirty-two millions of livres, and is as follows ‡.

To the duke of Lorrain, and other perſons comprehended in his treaty, three million ſeven hundred ſixty-ſix thouſand eight hundred and twenty-five livres: To the duke of Maïenne and others comprehended in his treaty, together with two regiments of Swiſs, whom the king took upon himſelf to pay, three million five hundred and eighty thouſand livres: To the duke of Guiſe and others comprehended in his treaty, three hundred and eighty-eight thouſand livres: To the duke of Nemours and others, three hundred and ſeventy-eight thouſand livres: To the duke of Mercœur, for Blavet and other towns of Brittany, four million two hundred niney-five thouſand three hundred and fifty livres: To the duke

‡ Here the old Memoirs have an error, in the calculation, of about one hundred thouſand livres.

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d'Elbœuf,

d'Elbœuf, for Poitiers, &c. nine hundred and seventy thousand eight hundred and twenty-four livres: To messieurs de Villars and the chevalier d'Oise, for Rouen and Havre, comprehending likewise the indemnifications granted to the duke of Montpensier, marechal Biron, the chancellor, &c. three million four hundred seventy-seven thousand eight hundred livres: To the duke d'Epernon and others, four hundred and ninety-six thousand livres: For the reduction of Marseilles, four hundred six thousand livres: To the duke of Brissac, for Paris, &c. one million six hundred ninety-five thousand four hundred livres: To the duke of Joyeuse, for Toulouse, &c. one million four hundred and seventy thousand livres: To monsieur de la Chatre, for Orleans, Bourges, &c. eight hundred ninety-eight thousand nine hundred livres: To messieurs de Villeroi and d'Alincourt, for Pontoise, &c. four hundred seventy-six thousand five hundred and ninety-four livres: To monsieur de Bois-Dauphin and others, six hundred and seventy-eight thousand eight hundred livres: To monsieur de Balagny, for Cambray, &c. eight hundred and twenty-eight thousand nine hundred and thirty livres: To messieurs de Vitry and de Medavy, three hundred and eighty thousand livres: To the sieurs Vidame d'Amiens, d'Etournelle, marquis de Trenel, Sesseval, du Pêche, Lamet, &c. and for the cities of Amiens, Abbeville, Peronne, Coucy, Pierrefont, &c. one million two hundred sixty-one thousand eight hundred and eighty livres: To the sieurs de Bellan, Quionville, Joffreville, du Pêche, &c. and for Troyes, Nogent, Vitré, Chaumont, Rocroy, Chateau-Porcien, &c. eight hundred thirty thousand and forty-eight livres: To messieurs de Rochefort, and for Vezely, Macon, Mailly, &c. four hundred fifty-seven thousand livres: To messieurs de Canillac, d'Achion, Lignerac, Monsan, Fumel, &c. and for the city du Puy, &c. five hundred forty-seven thousand livres: To messieurs de Monpezat and de Montespan,

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teſpan, &c. and for ſeveral cities of Guienne, three hundred and ninety thouſand livres: For Lion, Vienne, Valence, and other cities of Dauphiny, ſix hundred and thirty-ſix thouſand eight hundred livres: To the ſieurs de Daradon, la Pardieu, Bourcanny, Saint-Offange, for Dinan, &c. one hundred and eighty thouſand livres: To the ſieurs de Leviſton, Baudoin, and Beauvillers, one hundred and ſixty thouſand livres.

I SHOULD terrify my readers were I to ſhew them that this ſum made up but a ſmall part of that which was demanded from the exchequer, both for the French and foreigners, under the title of pay, penſions, loans, arrears, &c. and that the total of all theſe ſums, after making ſome deductions, amounted, by the computation I made, to near three hundred and thirty millions of livres: this calculation I would lay down here, but that I think it will appear more properly when I ſhall treat of the diſcuſſion of all theſe particulars.

HERE was a large field diſplayed for the labours of a ſuperintendant of the finances; but the difficulty was, where to begin; the exorbitancy of the ſtate-debts demanded an increaſe of the taxes: but the general poverty, a diminution of the old; and every thing being well conſidered, I even found it for the intereſt of the prince, that the cries of the public miſery ſhould be heard. It is not poſſible to give a juſt idea of the dreadful condition to which the provinces were reduced, eſpecially thoſe of Dauphiny, Provence, Languedoc, and Guienne; the theatres of long and bloody wars and outrages, by which they were wholly exhauſted. I granted, over the whole kingdom, a remiſſion of the remainder of the ſubſidies of 1596, which were yet to pay*; a pro-

* Together with the arrears of preceding years, for which private perſons had given their bonds to the receivers of the taxes; ſome of which bonds, according to le Grain, liv. vii. being ſeven years backwards, were declared null and void.

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ceeding

ceeding that neceſſity, as well as charity and juſtice, demanded. This gratuity, which gave the people time to breathe again, was the loſs of twenty millions to the king; but it facilitated the payment of the ſubſidies of 1597, which had been otherwiſe morally impoſſible.

AFTER this relief I endeavoured to procure the country people as many more favours as I was able, being ſtrongly perſuaded, that it could not be the ſum of thirty millions, which was raiſed every year in a kingdom ſo rich and of ſuch extent as France, that could reduce it to the condition I now ſaw it in; and that the ſums made up of extortions and falſe expences muſt certainly infinitely exceed thoſe which were brought into his majeſty's coffers. I took the pen, and reſolved to make this immenſe calculation. I ſaw, with a horror which gave new force to my zeal, that for theſe thirty millions that were given to his majeſty, there were drawn from the purſes of the ſubjects, I almoſt bluſh to ſay it, one hundred and fifty millions*: the thing appeared to me ſo incredible that I could not believe it, till with great induſtry I convinced myſelf it was true. After this, I was no longer ignorant from whence the calamity of the people proceeded, at a time when, although commerce was interrupted, induſtry ſtopped or perſecuted, the farms neglected

‡ This ſum, exorbitant as it is, will not, however, appear exaggerated, if we conſider, that beſides the extraordinary expences of levying it, which were at that time exceſſive, the people had ſtill a great number of other impoſitions and exactions to bear. "For "France would become too rich, ſays cardinal Richelieu, Teſt. pol. "part II. c. ix. § 7. and the people be in too flouriſhing a condition, "if the public money, which other ſtates expend with œconomy, "were not ſquandered with prodigality here. She loſes more, in my "opinion, than thoſe kingdoms that pretend to rival her lay out "in their ordinary diſburſements." Upon this he relates a good ſaying of a Venetian ambaſſador; to wit, that to render France happy, he wiſhed no other, than that ſhe knew as well how to expend the money ſhe ſquandered without reaſon, as his republic did not to ſpend one ſingle farthing without occaſion and the greateſt good huſbandry.

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and without value, and every other kind of wealth diminiſhed in proportion, they had been obliged to furniſh a ſum ſo much beyond their abilities, which had been forced from them with the utmoſt violence.

I THEN applied my cares to the authors of this oppreſſion, who were the governors and other officers of the army, as well as the civil magiſtrates and officers of the revenue; who all, even to the meaneſt, abuſed, in an enormous manner, the authority their employments gave them over the people: and I cauſed an arret of council to be drawn up, by which they were forbid, under great penalties, to exact any thing from the people, upon what title ſoever, without a warrant in form, beyond what they were obliged to on account of their ſhare of the tailles and other ſubſidies ſettled by the king; the treaſurers of France being enjoined to give information of all contrary practices, on pain of being anſwerable for them themſelves.

THIS arret was a check to the greedineſs of all theſe petty extortioners, but raiſed a furious reſentment in them againſt me; and notwithſtanding there was ſomething ſhameful in expreſſing it, yet many of them made loud complaints of me, as if I had in reality ſtripped them of their lawful poſſeſſions. The duke d'Epernon was the firſt who explained himſelf on this head, and ventured to come to a quarrel with me about it: the mortification he had ſuffered had not leſſened the fierceneſs and inſolence of his temper. The Provençals had often bleſſed the moment when he quitted their province: no people could be more miſerable than his vaſſals, and thoſe that were too near neighbours to his lands; he raiſed every year, at their expence, a revenue of above ſixty thouſand crowns.

THE members of the council, to whom this arret gave us much pain as to the duke d'Epernon, informed him of the day when it was to be paſſed; and he flattered himſelf he ſhould be able to prevent it. Accordingly

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cordingly he came, and took his ſeat in the council.*; and addreſſing himſelf to me, made a compa-

* The quarrel which is here ſpoken of happened on Monday the 26th of October, 1598, at the chancellor's where the council was held. "The duke d'Epernon having told M. de Roſny that he was "not obliged to wait upon him at his houſe, valuing his quality at a "very high rate; the latter made anſwer, with an air of rodomontade, "That he was deſcended from one of the oldeſt families in France. "Yes, Sir, replied the duke d'Epernon, if you will allow that "there is ſome difference betwixt you and me. Having mentioned "his ſword, and taken occaſion to raiſe the profeſſion of arms above "all others, M. de Roſny returned, That he likewiſe had a ſword, "and knew how to uſe it. To which the duke d'Epernon replied, "That he did not doubt that. The chancellor then interpoſing pa-"cified them: whereupon they began to talk a little more coolly; "when M. de Roſny, reſuming the diſcourſe, ſaid to him, Sir, you "have treated me as if I were ſome petty tax-gatherer. No, replied "the duke d'Epernon, you will find, that I am not come hither to "give you any opprobrious language. I am not a perſon to be uſed "ſo, ſays M. de Roſny, interruping him: ſuch treatment I would not "bear from any man alive. I did not intend any affront, ſays M. "d'Epernon. I am glad, returns M. de Roſny, affecting to take his "antagoniſt's laſt words as an apology, that you did not affront me. "I gave no body any affront, replied the duke d'Epernon; and "were even that the caſe, I carry about me what will give ſatisfac-"tion to perſons of my own rank, and to others according to their "ſtations. It was, probably, after theſe laſt words, which were "very provoking, that both of them clapt their hand to the hilts of "their ſwords. The chancellor and the other counſellors had often "enterpoſed, and at length parted them." The 8055th volume of MSS. de la Bibliot. du Roi, from which I take theſe particulars almoſt word for word, relates them, with ſome other ſimilar circumſtances, to ſhew the haſty and the proud temper of the duke de Sully: and at the ſame time the whole of this account is given us in ſuch a manner as is not at all favourable to him. Le Grain has alſo this fact in his eye in what I am going quote. But tho' he agrees, that a miniſter ought, above all things, to have a great regard for moderation, yet he cannot forbear juſtifying M. de Sully: "How was it poſſible, ſays "he, that he ſhould retrench ſo many penſions and ſalaries of of-"ficers who did no ſervice for them, refuſed ſo great a number "of perſons that preſſingly claimed and demanded rewards, "and have a watchful eye over the many counſels that were given "the grandees of the kingdom, which counſels he often turned to "the king's advantage, and to their great diſſatisfaction, without be-"ing inveſted with a very extenſive authority, and ſhewing at the "ſame time a lofty ſupercilious carriage? The king too would have "it ſo, to the end that all might be on an equal footing, till he had "diſcharged his duty toward his kingdom and enriched it: for "which reaſon ſubjects ought not to murmur. And inaſmuch as "the king teſtified his approbation of all M. de Sully's actions,

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riſon, with great arrogance and contempt, of the manner in which he ſupported the honour of his name, with that in which I diſgraced mine, by the new trade I had taken up. To this impertinence I replied without any equivocation, by declaring to him, that every way I thought myſelf at leaſt his equal. This plainneſs threw d'Epernon into a rage, inſtead of that inſulting calmneſs he had affected at firſt; and he proceeded to menaces, which I heard with no more patience than the reſt. I anſwered him with great ſpirit: he replied in the ſame manner: and, without further explanation, each of us laid his hand on his ſword. If the perſons who were preſent had not thrown themſelves between us, and forced us to go out of the council at oppoſite doors, a very uncommon ſcene would have been acted in the place where this debate happened. Our quarrel being related to the king, who was then at Fontainebleau, his majeſty was ſo well pleaſed with the zeal which on this occaſion I ſhewed for juſtice, that he wrote to me that ſame hour with his own hand, and praiſing my conduct, offered to be my ſecond againſt d'Epernon, to whom he ſaid he would ſpeak in ſuch a manner, as to prevent him for the future from giving me any more inſults of that kind. D'Epernon, perceiving the king was greatly offended with him for this proceeding, aſked my pardon in the preſence of his majeſty, who obliged us to embrace each other.

BESIDES theſe revenues which the princes of the blood, with the king's ſiſter at their head, and the

" when his majeſty declared to ſome of the great ones that wanted to " quarrel with him, that he himſelf would be his ſecond; we are " not at liberty to canvaſs ſuch proceedings, nor injure his majeſty's " memory after his death, nor the duke de Sully's honour during his " life, ſeeing he acted nothing but for the ſervice of his maſter. — " God grant," adds this writer, after ſhewing the wiſdom and neceſſity of the king's conduct, and that of his miniſter, " that this trea- " ſure may be preſerved with the ſame care that it has been acquired." Liv. vii. I thought this remark neceſſary to be made, as in the ſequel of theſe Memoirs I ſhall adduce a great many other examples, like the diſpute we have juſt now ſeen mentioned.

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blood,

officers of the crown had contrived for themſelves, the people were farther incommoded by the manner of their collecting the revenues. There was not one of theſe perſons who was not a penſioner of the king, under the title of their employments, rewards, gratuities, or treaties made with his majeſty on their returning to their obedience to him; and, by an effect of the licentiouſneſs of the paſt times, it was cuſtomary for theſe officers, inſtead of addreſſing themſelves to the treaſurer of the exchequer for the payment of their penſions, to pay themſelves out of the produce of the farms upon which they had aſſignments; ſome upon the tailles, ſome on the exciſe, others upon foreign commodities, the crown lands, five large farms, eſcheats, tolls of rivers, *comptables de Bourdeaux*, patents of Languedoc, Provence, &c. The king had no other means of paying more conſiderable debts which he had contracted with foreign princes, namely, the king of England, and the court Palatine, the duke of Wirtemberg, the duke of Florence, the Swiſs Cantons, the republic of Venice, and the city of Straſbourg. His majeſty paid in the ſame manner thoſe penſions that policy required he ſhould allow foreign princes and communities; for France always has made herſelf a voluntary debtor to all Europe: from whence it happened, that all theſe different creditors ſet up new farms for their profit, in the midſt of the king's; they had their commiſſaries and accountants among thoſe of his majeſty's, and who applied themſelves with equal induſtry to pillage the people. Certainly there never was a more dangerous, and at the ſame time a more ſhameful abuſe, that every one, and particularly foreigners, ſhould be thus ſuffered to concern themſelves with revenues of the ſtate; and monopoliſers of all nations multiply uſuries and extortions in the moſt audacious manner*, and, with

* This abuſe muſt have drawn after it ſome conſequences of ſo ruinous a nature, that we cannot too much bleſs the memory of him

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who

impunity, arrogate to themſelves part of the royal authority.

NOTHING ſeemed to me more neceſſary than to ſtrike ſuddenly at the root of this evil, by a ſecond declaration; in which all the foreigners, and natives, princes of the blood, and other officers, were forbidden, on pretence of any claim, title, or debt whatever, to levy money upon the farms, and other revenues of the ſtate; and were enjoined to apply to the exchequer only, for the payment of their penſions, arrears, &c. I ſaw, unmoved, the ſtorm which ſuch a declaration could not fail of raiſing againſt me: in effect, the arret was no ſooner publiſhed, than every place reſounded, with the clamours of the lords, and chief gatherers of taxes; from whoſe complaints and exclamations, it ſhould ſeem that they had been reduced to beggary, when they were only brought back to the conditions of their original agreement, and had their payments transferred to different funds. The king, who had great ſenſibility in his temper, was moved at theſe complaints, and could not ſuppoſe them to be ſo unreaſonable as they were; he was apprehenſive that my zeal had probably carried me to commit ſome imprudence; he therefore ſent for me, and as ſoon as I approached, "Ah! friend, ſaid he to me, what have you done?"

IT was not difficult for me to convince his majeſty, that I had acted upon principles of juſtice and regularity; that it was not fit his finances ſhould have any longer ſo many maſters, nor ſo many different mortgages; that the farms would produce him an income twice as great, as ſoon as their value ſhould be raiſed by being in his hands, and that this profit had not before accrued to the different proprietors, but to their agents and clerks; and laſtly, that

who had the courage to charge himſelf with the public odium, entirely to extirpate it; inſtead of accuſing him of a haughty behaviour and ſtern temper, without which it would have been impoſſible for him to have accompliſhed it.

whenever

whenever this was done, it was not depriving them of what was their own, but taking away profits which they had no right to. The king comprehended the juſtneſs of this proceeding, but he was perplexed about the diſcontent he muſt neceſſarily give to Sir Thomas Edmonds, agent to the queen of England; a certain German, factor to the duke of Wirtemberg; Gondy, farmer to the duke of Florence; and laſtly, the conſtable, his godfather; the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons in his court; and his own ſiſter.

I INTREATED his majeſty to ſend for ſome of them, to whom I might ſpeak in his preſence. The conſtable was but juſt gone out of his apartment: he was called back: "Well, godfather, ſaid the "king to him, what complaint have you againſt "Roſny?"---"I complain, ſays he, that he has "put me upon the level with the common people, "by taking from me a poor little aſſignment which "I had in Languedoc upon a tax, of which nothing "ever came to you." I anſwered the conſtable with great civility, that I ſhould be the firſt to acknowledge myſelf guilty, if it had been my deſign that he ſhould loſe any thing. I aſked him what profit he made of this impoſt, knowing well that he was one of theſe perſons from whom the contractors exacted the higheſt price for their ſervices. Monſieur de Montmorency anſwered my queſtion; and I aſſured him, that he might depend on being paid the whole ſum. "'Tis well, ſaid he, but who will pro-"miſe me that I ſhall be paid exactly as I now am?" "I will, replied I, and will give you his majeſty "for ſecurity, who ſhall never turn bankrupt, I "promiſe you, at leaſt if he ſuffers me to manage "his revenues as I propoſe to do; and I will be "counter-ſecurity to him, becauſe I expect, that if I "make him rich, he will be ſo kind to me that I "ſhall never break."

THE conſtable, who was a plain honeſt man,

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was pleaſed with my anſwer, and ſincerely approved my ſentiments; he even confeſſed to me, that he had let out the impoſt in queſtion for only nine thouſand crowns a year, out of which he was obliged to give two thouſand to the treaſurer. "All this I "know, replied I, and I am reſolved to give you the "nine thouſand crowns entire; yet the king ſhall "have eighteen thouſand, and there will ſtill re-"main four thouſand for me." The conſtable was amazed; he was not willing to own he had been ſo greatly impoſed upon; while the king in the mean time laughed heartily. However, the next day I brought a perſon to his majeſty, who in his preſence took this farm at fifty thouſand crowns, in the name of the ſtates of Languedoc. The king offered to aſſign me, upon this ſum, the four thouſand crowns, which I had only propoſed in jeſt. I refuſed it, and told his majeſty, that the diſorder in the finances, which I was endeavouring to remedy, having moſtly proceeded from the eaſy temper of the deceaſed king, in appropriating his farms to the gratuities he beſtowed on thoſe about him, as well financiers as others, they would infallibly fall again into the ſame inconveniency, if it was not made a cuſtom for men of buſineſs, who ſerved his majeſty uſefully, to receive their rewards only from his hands. The king agreed that I was in the right, and I loſt nothing by it; for having procured twelve thouſand crowns to be advanced upon this farm, he ſent Beringhen with a preſent of four thouſand to me.

I SATISFIED all thoſe perſons who were in the ſame ſituation as the conſtable; and, indeed, what could be more reaſonable, than that his majeſty ſhould himſelf receive his own revenues! As for all the reſt, whoſe intereſt made them deaf to arguments ſo convincing, I gave myſelf no more trouble about them. By this article, the revenues of the crown had an addition of ſixty thouſand crowns.

THIS

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THIS trouble was slight, compared with that which I found in laying open the tricks of the traders: the most likely means I could think of to accomplish it, was to procure such a general and exact account of the finances as I have mentioned; but here lay the difficulty: I was not satisfied with that which I drew up, as has been observed, in the year 1596 for 1597; nor even for the year following, altho' it was much more exact than the others, because I was under a necessity of regulating my calculations according to the reports, and by the accounts of the intendants and treasurers; from all whom, without exception, notwithstanding the caution I used in chusing them for this purpose, I had reason to expect artifice and fraud. I therefore went to work again this year: I collected all the commissions of tailles sent to several districts, and all the edicts by which money was raised throughout the kingdom: to these I joined the tariffs made in consequence of these edicts, and the leases and under-leases granted by the council to the first and second farmers: I compared all these pieces according to the knowledge which my former work had afforded me in this matter: and at last I thought that I had come for once to the bottom of the business: there were some abuses in the ordinary commissions of the tailles, these, however, were the least; there were much greater in the extraordinary commissions granted before-hand for the ensuing year; but the chief enormities appeared to arise from the under-leases: the farmers that took them from the council, and the treasurers of France, whom the farmers employed, fingered twice as much as had been assigned them; and as these farmer-generals granted under-leases of under-leases, the series of under-leases proceeding without end, produced a multiplication of charges, endless likewise, and afforded no other advantage than that of maintaining in profusion those who did nothing to deserve it; first, the gentlemen

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of the council, then the farmers, and the reſt of the ſubordination, who kept the trade a profound ſecret into which they had been once initiated.

I WAS tranſported at this diſcovery; and by the authority of the king, to whom I had told it, I ſtopt the produce of the tailles paid upon extraordinary commiſſions, and, without having any regard to them, ſent word to the receivers, that they ſhould account for it as for any other money, and ſhould immediately remit it. I annulled for ever the underleaſes; and ordered, that for the future every part of the revenue ſhould have only one farmer and one receiver. Great were the clamours on this occaſion; but the moſt diſcreet among the farmers, knowing that theſe murmurs only ſerved to make them to be taken notice of, and finding that by the ſuppreſſion of a great part of the contractors, places were likely to become ſcarce, came in haſte to look for me, and took the ſame farms again upon their own account; with this difference, that their profit came to the king, the value of the farms being doubled §.

IN proportion as my work was improved by my experience, I brought my general ſtate of the revenues towards perfection; it then came into my mind to go on no longer by the forms of accounts, ſuch as the receivers had drawn upon themſelves, but to ſend them ſome contrived by myſelf; in which I endeavoured to have every thing clear, and drawn up to the minuteſt particular. When they were

§ Tho' we are more and more convinced of the juſtice of this, to wit, that the king ſhould take for his advantage all poſſible ſhare in the profits of his farms and other revenues; yet we find, it ſeems, and that with ſome ground of reaſon, that ſince the duke of Sully's time, there has not been made, in this reſpect, all that progreſs which his views, and the great care he took, had apparently given hopes to expect. We ſhall have occaſion to enter into this matter at ſome great length, when our author comes to ſpeak of the farming of the *tailles*, and other impoſts, which is the true caſe of all the difficulties that are to be met with in attaining to the end he propoſed, and which all the miniſters after him have endeavoured to reach at.

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returned to my hands I examined them over again with the utmoſt accuracy, noting the ſlighteſt inadvertance or omiſſion; ſo that there was ſoon nothing at all left out, even in the leaſt and moſt obſcure parts of the revenue, becauſe every thing was to be juſtified by the writings which I ordered to be brought along with it, and which I compared with the utmoſt attention. Thus I blew up all the mines of the receivers, which were very numerous, ſuch as, pretended differences, bad money, drawbacks, immunities, privileges of office, payments of rent, charge of carriage, fees to judges, and coſts of auditing accounts; all theſe, and more, were very commodiouſly uſed to the advantage of the commiſſioners, becauſe nobody had given himſelf the pain to rate, according to their real value, all thoſe particulars which, being thus ſwelled beyond their bulk, ſwallowed up a great part of the ſum received; and the people of the council, who ought to have examined them, knew the advantage of this jargon. So little care was taken of the accounts of the receivers, that a man often quitted his employment, charged with vaſt ſums of arrears, which afterwards ſunk into oblivion. I put an end to this cuſtom: I obliged thoſe who came into office to enquire after the men that had gone before them, and uſed the only method that could have any effect upon them. As long as any arrears remained, they had no other fund for their ſalaries and allowance. They then knew very well how to hinder theſe little bankruptcies, inſtead of favouring them as they had hitherto done.

SEVERAL paymaſters, and particularly thoſe of the chamber of accounts, upon whom aſſignments are moſt frequently granted, had the ingenuity, to contrive ways of tiring out thoſe who brought the aſſignments, by frequent delays, till they were content to take part of the money granted them, and to give an acquittance for the whole. I ordered that no

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payment ſhould be kept back; and that no money ſhould be taken for prompt payment. This prohibition put an end to all the accounts of the repayment of money payable by the precepts of the chamber, and to the multiplicity both of accounts and charges, by which the king's money was ſtolen to an incredible degree. From this time we had a clear inſight into the finances, and confuſion was at an end.

When the general ſtate, of which I have been ſpeaking, with the regulations and different models were drawn up, I went to read them before the council, in the king's abſence. I eaſily perceived that my collegues were offended at my diligence, and at my neglecting to deſire their aſſiſtance in my work. However, they contented themſelves with anſwering me drily, and in a jeſting manner, that my ſecretaries had an eaſy time of it with me: theſe papers were indeed all written with my own hand *. But as ſoon as I had left them, they acknowledged that my labour had been infinitely great and exact; and that it would be in vain for the future to pretend to hide any thing from me. Two days after, when his majeſty was preſent in the council, I read theſe papers again: upon which he aſked them their opinions of my accounts. They allowed them to be very right, and ſaid, that for a ſoldier I was extremely expert in buſineſs. I know not whether it was they who were the authors of a piece of ſlander that was current about that time, namely, that I had employed † Du-Luat to write a book, in which, under

* The preſent duke of Sully preſerves as a choice curioſity, a great part of theſe manuſcripts, with many other originals of M. de Roſny's, which he takes pleaſure to ſhew to ſuch as viſit him: he looks upon them as one of the principal ornaments of the muſeum which his taſte for the ſciences induces him to augment daily; and theſe are, in fact, ſo many glorious monuments of his illuſtrious family.

† Ange Capel, the ſieur Du-Luat. There is mention made in vol. 8778 des Manuſcripts de la Bibliot. du Roi, of a book in which he gives may uſeful hints to the members of the council with regard to the finances; this, no doubt, is the book our author means here.

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pretence of giving a new view of the finances, I railed without charity or reserve, at his majesty's best servants. The king assured me, that all the endeavours of my enemies should never alter his friendship for me. In effect, his majesty, from that moment, behaved to me in such a manner, as to make me look upon him rather as a friend than a master; he interested himself in all my concerns, shared in all my joys, and bore a part of every affliction.

I SHOULD be doubly ungrateful if I concealed the obligations I received from this prince: with regard to the finances, they were not confined to the supporting all my proceedings with the utmost resolution (as it happened when the mayor and aldermen of Paris refused to communicate their accounts to me, under pretence that they had no connection with the council of the finances) nor in preventing all my desires, or with the gentlest goodness consoling me under difficulties, as he generally did, by proposing himself for an example: his knowledge and his advice, especially in relation to the finances, had often been of great use to me; and I candidly confess, that without it I should have in vain attempted an enterprize so difficult as a reformation in them. most part of my designs were hinted by him†; and I keep, with the greatest care, whole memorials written, although very long, with his own hand, upon subjects which equally employed us both.

AFTER this I ought to own, with the same sincerity, that most of these praises which were given to the administration of affairs in the reign of Henry IV. ought with justice to revert to him. Others

Du-Luat is represented to us in the Remarks on chap. ix. de la Confession de Sancy, as a quick, ready, and agreeable flatterer, who in a manner bewitched the duke de Sully, his master, with a genealogy, in which he derived his pedegree from the house of Courtenay. Journal du regne de Henry III. printed in 1720, tom. II. p. 477.

† M. de Perefixe, p. 225. likewise assures us, that Henry IV. had throughly studied the subject of the finances.

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would have ſerved him with equal abilities and as much fidelity as me; for it never happens that good ſubjects abandon their king; it is the king who abandons good ſubjects. The great difficulty will ever be, to meet with a prince, who in a miniſter capable of managing his affairs, ſeeks not for one who will comply with all his inclinations, and ſooth all his paſſions; who uniting great wiſdom to great penetration, calls none to thoſe employments but perſons whom he knows to have as much rectitude as capacity; in a word, who being poſſeſſed of great abilities himſelf, has not the weakneſs to envy that advantage in another. This jealouſy of merit in a ſovereign, which ſuppoſes, however, that he is himſelf maſter of ſome degree of it, creates in one ſenſe more diſorders in a ſtate, than the hatred he is known to have of particular vices can do good.

When I quitted Brittany I left there regulations for the finances, differing according to the nature and privileges of that province; and afterwards ſent thither the ſieur de Maupeou, maſter of accounts, as well to enforce the obſervation of them, and raiſe the value of the farms in that province, as to haſten the payment of the money for which I had ſettled a fund. I likewiſe ſent, for the ſame purpoſe, Coefnard, auditor of accounts, to Poictou, and Bizouz to Champaigne. I appointed Champigny over the toll of the rivers in the diſtrict of Orleans and Touraine. But for this time I have ſaid enough of the finances.

I will now proceed to incidents of another kind, which by their ſingularity rendered this year remarkable. It is yet a queſtion, of what nature that illuſion might be which was ſeen ſo often, and by ſo many perſons, in the foreſt of Fontainebleau: it was a ſpectre*, ſurrounded with a pack of hounds, whoſe

* Perefixe mentions this apparition, and makes it ſpeak with a hoarſe and frightful voice, theſe words, *M' attendez vous*, or *M' entendez vous*, or *Amendez vous*. He aſcribes theſe viſions to the deluſive arts

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cries were heard, and who were seen at a distance, but vanished when any one approached near to it. A whale was taken on the coast of Holland, eighty feet in length †. The Tiber overflowed in such a manner as to throw down a great number of houses, and laid part of the city of Rome under water. A report was spread in Europe, that the Jews thro' hatred of the christians, had offered the grand signior five hundred thousand ducats to destroy the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem.

BUT the most interesting event, and with which this year was closed, was the death of Philip II. king of Spain, after suffering, for the space of eight or nine months, such agonizing * torments, as a principle of piety only could have enabled him to sup-

of sorcerers or evil spirits, ibid. part III. See likewise journal de Henry IV and La Chronologie Septennarie, ann. 1599, where it is said, that the king and his court, who laughed at this apparition as a fable, saw it one day distinctly among the bushes, in the shape of a tall black man; which so frightened them, that the best was he that could shew the lightest pair of heels. P. Matthieu assures us, tom. II. p. 268, that one day, at Fontainebleau, the duke of Sully, having heard the noise of it, came down, imagining it was the stamping of the king's horses, after his return from hunting. Bongars, epist. 184. ad Cameral, tells us, with an air of gravity, that this was the ghost of an huntsman that had been killed in that forest in the time of Francis I.

† See the description of this monstrous fish in the Chronologie Septennaire, p. 17. and the account of this overflowing of the Tiber, in cardinal d'Ossat's letters, p. 365. "It was greater (says he) than "any recorded in history; so that the whole plain on which stands the "city of Rome was under water a pike's height in the streets "and houses; and that not one among a hundred could go to hear "mass on Christmas-day. This inundation did inestimable da-"mage, &c."

* "For two and twenty days together there was, says Perefixe, a "flux of blood from all the vessels of his body; and a little before "his death impostumes that broke in his breast, from which there "continually issued so great a swarm of vermin, that all the care of "his attendants could not destroy them." Ibid. M. de Thou, liv. cxx. adds to this a dysentery, tenesmus, dropsy, &c. and he gives as moving a description of the deplorable condition of this prince, as of his patience and religious sentiments under it. Matthieu says, that he had no less than seven fistulas on two fingers of his right hand; and he ascribes this terrible disease to the debaucheries of his youth. He died on Sunday, September 13.

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port with that patience he ſhewed for ſo long a time: however, this heroiſm of his was quite loſt upon the vulgar. When they reflected, that thro' his avarice and ambition he had almoſt drowned the new world with the blood of its miſerable inhabitants, and on his own ſubjects exerciſed equal cruelties, except taking away their lives, they looked upon thoſe infectious ulcers with which his whole body was covered, to be not ſo much a natural accident, as the effect of divine vengeance. He left a will behind him, which, in my opinion, is too curious a piece to be paſſed over in ſilence; it is not certainly known whether he dictated it in his illneſs, and gave it with his own hand to his ſon, or whether it was found after his death, with his other private papers, in the box that he had put into the hands of Chriſtopher de Mora, his favourite; but this circumſtance, of ſmall importance in itſelf, is likewiſe of no conſequence towards proving the authenticity of this piece, which is clear from any others. The copy that fell into my hands was ſent me by the ſame perſon who ſent one to the king; this was Bongars, his majeſty's agent to the proteſtants in Germany, who had it from the landgrave of Heſſe, and that prince from the cities of Venice and Genoa; and it is in every reſpect ſo exactly conformable to thoſe which were ſent into different places, that it removes all doubt of its being forged by ſome of his catholic majeſty's enemies †.

In this piece Philip begins with a candid enumeration of all the faults he had committed, and places

† Notwithſtanding what M. de Sully ſays here, the piece which in his Memoirs is intituled, *Teſtament du Roi d'Eſpagne*, is neither the genuine latter will of that prince, nor even a faithful extract of it; which may eaſily be diſcovered, by comparing it with the particular and circumſtantial one which M. de Thou gives us, liv. 120. But it might happen that this writing, which was likewiſe called *Inſtruction du Roi d'Eſpagne à ſon fils*, might really have been a ſecret, and have nothing more in common with the will and teſtament of this prince, than its being drawn, as is evident, in the ſame ſpirit, and in conformity to the ſame maxims, without the precaution that is commonly

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at their head his chimerical ſcheme of univerſal monarchy, the abſurdity of which he earneſtly endeavours to make his ſucceſſor ſenſible of, by his example, and by that of Charles V. his father, whoſe inſtructions he adds to his own, altho' he confeſſes he had not profited by them. To this will he joins the memoirs which had been left him by that emperor*, to the end that Philip III. might always keep them together. The emperor Charles V. being in the flower of his age, and of a healthy and vigorous conſtitution, maſter of Spain and Germany, covered with glory and elated with ſucceſs, formed the deſign of ſubduing the Infidels, and reuniting all the powers of Europe, as well as all the religions, to his. After many years ſpent in fruitleſs attempts, he quitted his crown, and with it all his chimerical projects. Philip II. his ſon ſuffered himſelf to be taken in the ſame ſnare, and ſucceeded ſtill worſe, which he was deſirous his ſucceſſor ſhould know. The difference of religions, laws and manners among the Europeans; their almoſt equal knowledge of the art of war, the great number of ſtrong cities with which Europe is filled, and which made as many long and painful ſieges neceſſary; the inconſtancy of the ſeveral nations, who are always ready to obey the firſt comer, who offers to aſſiſt them in repelling a domination which it had taken immenſe labours to eſtabliſh; all theſe Philip repreſented as unſurmountable obſtacles to ſo great a deſign.

He acknowledges that he had not been always of the ſame opinion; that the impetuoſity of youth had prevented him from making thoſe prudent reflections at firſt, and that afterwards two great victories, and the diviſions which tore the kingdom of

ly uſed in writings deſigned to be made public. As to the ſubſtance thereof, it is given in the Chronologie Septennaire, in the ſame manner as in theſe Memoirs, only in a different ſtyle and order.

* M. de Thou finds nothing in the laſt will of Philip II. comparable to the wiſdom of the diſpoſitions, and the dignity of expreſſion, ſhewn in that of Charles V.

France

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France to pieces contributed to continue his infatuation, and to make him reject with disdain all the offers that had made been made him for an advantageous peace. And as he thought he had reason to fear that his son would not make a better use of his understanding, it was by a declaration of all that a ridiculous ambition had made him unwisely undertake, that he sought to cure him.

He therefore acknowledges as a fault, his having endeavoured to get himself declared emperor of all the new world; he accuses himself of a design to invade Italy upon frivolous pretences; to conquer the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, a project which in six years had cost him twenty millions in preparations only for a fleet with which he expected to overwhelm this power: this was the fleet called the Invincible Armado, which, however, was reduced to nothing, at one stroke, in 1588, as soon as it set out; to bring the Low Countries into subjection; to overthrow the French monarchy, by taking advantage of the weakness of the last king, and prevailing upon his subjects, especially the ecclesiastics, to revolt; and lastly, to deprive his own uncle Ferdinand, and Maximilian, king of the Romans, his nephew ‡, of the empire. He observes, that these intrigues cost him above six hundred millions of ducats †; a proof of which, he tells his son, he would find in the accounts which he left in his cabinet, drawn up and written by himself. He blames himself less for his profusion of money, than that of human blood, which he caused to be shed: and indeed the confession he makes, that he had sacrificed twenty millions of men to his lust of domi-

‡ "Philip II. was called, The devil of the south, *Dæmonem meridianum*, because he troubled all Europe, in the south of which Spain "lies." Notes sur la Henriade.

† P. Matthieu says, that the Indies yielded to the king of Spain two hundred and sixty millions of gold in the space of sixty-four years; and that he might have conquered all Turkey with that treasure only which he spent in Flanders. Tom. II, liv. ii. p. 266.

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nion, and laid more countries waſte, than all thoſe he poſſeſſed in Europe, is enough to raiſe horror in every mind not wholly diveſted of humanity.

WHAT has been the effect of all this? This is the reflection which he propoſes to his ſon. Providence, as if it had thought itſelf concerned to prevent ſuch wicked deſigns from ſucceeding, cauſed him to loſe Germany, by the jealouſy and hatred of his own relations; England, by the winds and ſtorms; Ireland, by the treachery of its inhabitants, whom its great diſtance ſecured from his reſentment; France, by the inſtability of the people, and their averſion to a foreign domination ‡, and laſtly, by the great qualities of their king. So that the mighty preparations he had made, and the torrents of blood that had been ſhed, procured him no other advantage than the acquiſition of the little kingdom of Portugal to his dominions.

AFTER this, Philip made a more particular application of theſe inſtructions to the perſon and ſituation of the heir to his throne; and reduced to the following articles the politics from which no king of Spain ought ever to depart, and Philip III. leſs than any other, on account of his tender age: theſe articles were, firſt, To maintain with France the peace which Philip II. himſelf hoped to have concluded before his death, and this as well in conſideration of his own intereſt and quiet, as out of regard to his people:

‡ In the genuine latter will of Philip II. is an article with regard to Henry IV. the omiſſion of which in our Memoirs is ſufficient to prove, that the piece to which this name is given is ſuppoſititious; and that is, That this prince being troubled with ſtrong remorſe of conſcience for the uſurpation of the kingdom of Navarre, recommends to his ſon what had been before recommended to him by his father, namely, to cauſe this point to be carefully examined by the moſt able lawyers, in order to reſtore the crown to its rightful owner, if it ſhould come out ſo, according to equity. Charles V. had ſaid as much to Philip II. and Ferdinand and Iſabel to Charles V. . . . . In this manner to refer the executing of a diſpoſition known to be juſt, to a ſucceſſor who, one might be aſſured, would pay no regard to it, is what M. de Thou calls an impudent trifling with the Deity.

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To keep up a good correſpondence with the pope, and to ſtrengthen it by having always a great many cardinals in his intereſt: To be upon friendly terms with the emperor and his family; nevertheleſs, not to ſuffer the penſions to paſs through his hands, which his intereſt required he ſhould continue to the electors, princes, and prelates of Germany, in order to keep them always attached to him by thoſe largeſſes; at the ſame time to take care to foment diviſions amongſt them, which would afford him the means of turning to his advantage thoſe opportunities that time might produce for acquiring the empire: To be more vigilant on the ſide of Germany, as there is a greater multiplicity of intereſts in the northern countries than in any other place. Poland, Denmark, and Sweden, were powers from which he thought there was little to be apprehended; the firſt, not only on account of its diſtance, but becauſe the policy of the princes its neighbours, as well as its own, being miſtaken, made the king of Poland rather the miniſter than the maſter of his ſubjects: the two others, by reaſon of their diſtance likewiſe, joined to their poverty and unſkilfulneſs in war, were as little to be feared. He took care not to ſay the ſame with regard to France, England, and Flanders, which he conſidered as powers very formidable to Spain, and againſt which he recommended it to his ſon, to be always upon his guard.

With reſpect to England *, his advice was, to neglect nothing to prevent the three crowns which compriſe the Britannic iſles from being placed on the ſame head; an event which this able politician, from a ſpirit of prediction, mentioned as very near; and for that purpoſe not to regret the money which was diſtributed in thoſe iſlands to make partiſans, and to continue filling them with ſpies, but of another ſort

† They alſo make him ſay at the point of death when ſpeaking of England, *Pacem cum Anglo, bellum cum reliquis*, "Peace with the "Engliſh, and war with all the reſt of the world."

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from thoſe that were then there, whoſe fidelity Philip II. thought he had reaſon to ſuſpect. To cultivate carefully thoſe diviſions which a diverſity of religions might produce in that ſtate, as well as in France: he conſidered thoſe which the league gave riſe to amongſt us as things now ſtale and uſeleſs, ſince we had a king of Henry's capacity: but to give occaſion for many other civil diſcords in each of thoſe two ſtates, and eſpecially ſuch as might keep them in war againſt each other, or at leaſt in diſtruſt and ſuſpicion, which might be done, by favouring the pretenſions of one upon the other, to which their mutual hatred naturally incited them. To conſider as the greateſt misfortune imaginable, that ſtroke which ſhould join the United Provinces, and thoſe two powers already united amongſt themſelves, in one common intereſt; ſince from thence muſt naturally reſult a power capable, ſays he, of ſubjecting ſea and land. To find means to exclude all the princes of Europe from the navigation of the two Indies, an attempt which could meet with no obſtructions but from thoſe three powers; and leſs from France than the two others, becauſe ſhe had no marine; a new motive for gaining poſſeſſion of the Low Countries, and yet more of England.

HOWEVER, amidſt all theſe counſels that Philip gave his ſucceſſor, he never adviſed him to enter into any war, not even with the rebels in the Low Countries, but earneſtly diſſuaded him from it. The conduct he recommended to be obſerved with the Provinces was, to grant a general pardon there; to require nothing of the people but that they ſhould acknowledge the Spaniſh authority; to watch the behaviour of the governors, miniſters, and officers, that were maintained there,; not to continue them too long, nor to give them a too abſolute power, becauſe they would be the perſons whom they would have the moſt reaſon to fear, if ever they entertained a deſign of heading the party.

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If, however, Spain could not avoid engaging in a war, Philip was not willing that his ſucceſſor ſhould be deprived of that knowledge which experience had given him in that reſpect. He appriſed him, that if he propoſed not to ſink under it, he muſt not undertake a war but in ſuch favourable opportunities as might, from time to time, preſent themſelves, ſuch as, changes in the government, civil diſſentions, faults, or neceſſities of the ſovereigns, &c. This maxim of Philip, that a prince ſhould make himſelf acquainted even with the moſt particular inclinations of the princes his neighbours, is ſo true, and of ſuch vaſt importance, that no change ſhould ever happen in the ſtates about him, but what he ſhould be prepared for, and in readineſs to take advantage of that inſtant. He concluded this article by ſhewing the new king, that he is anſwerable for his actions at the tribunal of a God who judges wars, and, unhappily, not by the ſame rules which warlike princes lay down for themſelves.

After theſe maxims, which regarded only the government abroad, Philip proceeded to thoſe which he thought neceſſary for the government at home. He held it juſt, that a king of Spain, having nations under his command, between whoſe cuſtoms and manners there was as great a difference as diſtance in their realms, ſhould ſtudy to govern each according to their reſpective character, and all with gentleneſs and moderation. That he ſhould be acquainted with the talents and diſpoſitions of his counſellors and ſecretaries, and chuſe them himſelf: That he ſhould likewiſe expedite all his diſpatches, and render himſelf expert in the uſe of cyphers, that he might not expoſe a ſecret of conſequence to be betrayed by a confidant: That he ſhould be careful to ſeek for men of honour and ſufficient abilities to beſtow employments upon: That he ſhould avoid giving any perſon any great cauſe of complaint, eſpecially thoſe of high quality; he obſerved, that the prince, his eldeſt

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eldeſt ſon †, had ſuffered by it; and that he ſhould make a juſt diſtinction between the ancient and the new nobility, in order to advance the laſt, as being generally ſuſceptible of pure and diſintereſted ſentiments: That he ſhould leſſen the number of the perſons that were employed in the revenues, adminiſtration of juſtice, and the officers of the houſhold: and recommended the ſame conduct to be obſerved with regard to the eccleſiaſtics; to which he added, that they, as well as others, ought to contribute to the neceſſities of the ſtate, not only becauſe they could better afford it, on account of their riches, but likewiſe becauſe it became neceſſary for them to do ſo, if they would not forfeit the reſpect that was due to their character, by luxury, ſloth, and impiety, the ordinary fruits of great riches, and the indolence in which they lived; but that he ſhould increaſe the number of merchants, huſbandmen, artiſts, and ſoldiers; by whoſe induſtry, labour, and frugality alone, a ſtate is ſupported againſt the ruin with which it is threatened by the diſſoluteneſs of the other ranks. All principles, which, like theſe, tend to maintain ſubordination and œconomy in a ſtate, againſt corruption and diſorder, merit praiſe from whatever mouth they proceed.

PHILIP cloſed his will with the article relating to domeſtic diſpoſitions. He enjoined his ſucceſſor to fulfil the promiſes and other clauſes of the infanta his ſiſter's marriage. He propoſed a match for the young king, in which he had already made ſome advances, and privately regulated all the articles, which he informed him he would find in the hands of Loo. He obſerved, that no king ever loved his father's favourite; yet, notwithſtanding, he would propoſe Chriſtopher de Mora for his confidant, who had been his own. Philip III. choſe rather to prove

† Don Carlos, prince of Spain: it was by order of his father that he loſt his life; and it appears that his crime was rather gaining over the affections of his grandees than treating them with contempt.

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the truth of the obſervation, than comply with the requeſt, and gave Mora's place to the marquis of Doria. He required, as an inſtance of reſpect due to the memory of a father, that all thoſe perſons to whom he had given employments ſhould be continued in them; but he expreſſed himſelf in ſuch a manner with regard to this article, as ſhewed he rather wiſhed than hoped for a compliance with it. He recommended to his ſon the doctors Ollius and Vergius, who had attended him in his illneſs. He mentioned Antonio Perès * as a dangerous man, with whom it was neceſſary he ſhould be reconciled; and afterwards not to permit him to ſtay either in France, Flanders, and eſpecially Spain, but in the uſeleſs country of Italy. Philip concludes this piece with a ſhort maxim, To love God, to endeavour to be virtuous, and to profit by the precepts of a father. It muſt be confeſſed, that in this piece there are likewiſe many more ſtrokes of piety † and reſignation to the will of God, who he ſaid had in mercy chaſtiſed him in this life rather than the other.

THE firſt of theſe articles which was executed by the king of Spain was that relating to his marriage with the arch-ducheſs of Gratz ‡: he ſent immediately after the death of his father to demand her in marriage; and in the beginning of the year following ſhe ſet out for Spain, accompanied by her

* Antony Perès had been chief miniſter to Philip II. with whom he fell into diſgrace for reaſons which have no manner of relation to the ſubject of theſe Memoirs: he retired to Paris, where he died in 1611. He was a great politician, and a man of very conſiderable parts: the following maxim was one of his, which includes a deal of meaning in three words, namely, *Roma, Conſejo, Piolago*; that is to ſay, To gain over the court of Rome, compoſe the council of proper perſons, and to be maſter at ſea.

† "He ordered his coffin to be brought him, which was made of "copper, and a death's head to be laid upon a beaufet, with a crown "of gold by it;" ſays la Chronologie Septennaire, where, ann. 1598. we may find, together with an account of all that this prince ſaid and did in his laſt illneſs, the hiſtory alſo of his public and private life.

‡ Margaret of Auſtria, daughter to the arch-duke of Gratz.

brother,

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brother, the arch-duke Albert, with whom she landed upon the coast of Marseilles, for the benefit of that air. The duke of Guise, who was governor of the province, having notice of it, sent to let the king know of her arrival, and received orders to give this princess a very honourable reception; his majesty destined fifty thousand crowns to be expended for that purpose, and ordered them to be paid at Marseilles. I was upon the point of sending thither, to direct how this money was to be disposed of, either La-Font, or another of my domestics, who was only a footman of my wife's, a man of a low stature and a mean figure, but in whom I had discovered so much capacity, fidelity, and prudence, that I thought I ought to endeavour his establishment: but there was no occasion for it, a person I had upon the spot was sufficient: for the arch-duchess, notwithstanding the instances that were made her by the duke of Guise and the city of Marseilles, would not enter any of the great cities, to avoid the ceremonial, but ordered tents to be set up upon the shore, where she rested and heard mass; the arch-duke, indeed, was so devout as to visit the churches at Marseilles, but went to them incognito, and without any train; and after kissing the relics, returned without either eating or drinking.

This marriage united the two branches of the house of Austria by a double tye, the deceased king of Spain having already, on the 5th of May the preceding year, married the infanta Isabella, his daughter, to the arch-duke Albert, who, for that purpose, had divested himself of the cardinal's purple. This princess had, in appearance, a very large portion, since it was made up of no less than the seventeen provinces of the Low Countries, Franche-Comté, and Charolois: but the additional clauses that were inserted, that this new sovereign should be excluded from any commerce in the Indies, and not suffered to permit in his states the exercise of any religion

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but the roman catholic, without which the donation was made void, reduced it, in effect, to nothing, by the difficulty he would find in obliging the Flemings to accept of such hard conditions.

The arch-duke, till he could go in person to Flanders, to remove all these obstacles, sent the high admiral * of Arragon thither, in the quality of his lieutenant-general, who performed some actions on the frontiers of Germany; and afterwards his cousin, the cardinal André, who issued out many edicts, but without effect. The house of Austria began to think there was danger in delays; therefore the arch-duke went himself into the Low Countries, taking with him his bride, on the 5th of September this year; the remainder of which was spent in threatening on his side, which likewise produced nothing; so that there was a necessity for coming to open force: and this was the beginning of that long and bloody war between Spain and the Flemish, the progress and event of which I shall take notice of each year.

At the same time that the marriage of his catholic majesty was celebrated in Spain, that of the princess Catherine with the prince of Bar † was celebrated at Paris. It was upon this establishment that the princess at length fixed her destiny, hitherto so uncertain. During the life of queen Catherine it was first proposed to marry her to the duke of Alençon; but Henry III. would not consent to it, on account of the hatred he bore to his brother. Afterwards, they talked of giving her to Henry III. himself: but this the queen-mother opposed, through

* Consult the Chronologie Septennaire, both as to these military expeditions, and as to all that is here said of the marriage of the king and the infanta of Spain, for the year 1598, 1599. Matthieu, ibid. p. 298, &c.

† Henry duke of Bar, who became duke of Lorrain, after the death of his father, Charles II. "The king gave his sister, at her marriage, three hundred thousand crowns of gold for her portion," says the historian Matthieu, ib. p. 278.

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the averſion ſhe had to the family of Navarre. This princeſs, in her turn, refuſed the old duke of Lorrain, becauſe he had children by a former marriage. The king of Spain demanded her, on condition of a ſtrict union between the king of Navarre and him, which the firſt of theſe princes would not hear of. The princeſs was afterwards ſought by the duke of Savoy; but in circumſtances wherein this marriage might prove prejudicial to the proteſtant religion, and therefore the proteſtants themſelves threw difficulties in the way. She would not have the prince of Condé on account of his poverty; and refuſed the king of Scotland, without giving any good reaſon for it. The prince of Enhalt made likewiſe his advances. And in thoſe tranſports of anger with which ſhe was ſometimes animated againſt the king her brother, ſhe reproached him, that he would have thrown her into the arms of three or four other princes, or, as ſhe called them, gentlemen, for the payment of their ſubſidies. Laſtly, her inclination for the count of Soiſſons made her reject the duke of Montpenſier, who was a ſuitable match for her. At length, the neceſſity of procuring an eſtabliſhment * determined her to accept the prince of Bar.

THIS deſigned marriage was no ſooner made public, than the eccleſiaſtics in general, and the French biſhops in particular, then aſſembled at Paris, found, in the difference of religion of the two parties, a reaſon for hindering its concluſion, which they did not ſuffer to eſcape them. The firſt meaſure they took was to hinder, at Rome, with all their power, the diſpatching of the diſpenſation, without which, they imagined, it was not poſſible to proceed to the declaration of the marriage. In this reſpect, they

* "Madame," (ſays on the contrary the Chronologie Septennaire, ann. 1599.) "ſhewed on her part, all the ſatisfaction imaginable... "ſhe uſed to ſay,

Gratæ ſupervenient quæ non ſuperabitur hora.

"For ſhe was a lady that was very well ſkilled in Latin."

could not truſt the care of their intereſts to one more faithful than d'Oſſat, who nevertheleſs was ſent to this court to manage thoſe of the king. But this is not the firſt time, nor will it be the laſt, that this eccleſiaſtic has ſuffered from me, and will again, the reproach of having not only exceeded but betrayed his commiſſion. If I may give credit to the memorial from Rome which has been already mentioned, d'Oſſat, in the name of the whole party of whom he was the inſtrument, neglected nothing to diſſuade the pope from granting the diſpenſation †, which he was

† Cardinal d'Oſſat, in his letters, does not begin to ſpeak of his negotiation for obtaining the diſpenſation in queſtion, till after the duke of Bar had come himſelf to ſolicit it at Rome in the year 1600, when he reſumed again, by order of the king, the making of new inſtances on this head. He tells us, by the bye, the reaſons upon which the pope founded his refuſal of the deſired favour: "His holineſs," ſays he, "having told at Ferrara, M. Luxembourg and myſelf, when we "required the ſaid diſpenſation, that he neither ought nor could "grant it, by reaſon that one of the parties did not only not deſire it, "but did not acknowledge him as the paſtor of the catholic and "apoſtolic church, nor as having any power to grant a diſpenſation; "and in like manner, did not believe that marriage was a ſacrament, "nor that it was unlawful even for couſin-germans to intermarry. "Theſe reaſons of the pope, adds he, ſtill continue in force." And on every occaſion, indeed, he ſo enforces them by all the theological arguments imaginable, that there is no reader but muſt conclude, that a man, who was ſo thoroughly perſuaded that the pope could not in conſcience conſent to the diſpenſation, inſiſted on it very faintly; and endeavoured to oblige the courts of France and Lorrain, by all poſſible means, to procure previouſly the converſion of the princeſs; without which, according to him, this affair could never be brought to a happy iſſue. However, we may ſee, on the other hand, that M. d'Oſſat executed the king's orders, and was even beforehand with his maſter in that reſpect, with ſo much aſſiduity, fidelity, and zeal, that we muſt, from his letters, be obliged to do him the juſtice to own, that he ſerved his majeſty, even in contradiction to his own real ſentiments, as much as poſſibly he could. A proof of this, which alone preponderates every other conſideration, is, that in ſpite of all theſe obſtacles, he at length obtained, a long time after, it is true, this diſpenſation which he had deſpaired of. I find in all this cardinal's letters a great deal leſs foundation for the ſecond motive that is here aſcribed to him. In order to lay before the world in the groſs, that which will be diſplayed by piecemeal in its own time, my opinion concerning this prelate's ſentiments on all the different ſubjects whereon he is attacked, keeping always to the conjectures that may be drawn from his letters, as this: He loved the king's perſon: he thought there was no good

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policy

particularly employed by his majesty to solicit. These persons gave his holiness to understand, that if he continued firm in his refusal to grant this favour, it would produce two things equally to be desired; one, that the princess would turn catholic; the other, that such a change would be thought by the protestants an effect of the violence used to her by the king her brother, for that purpose, which would increase the distrust they already openly shewed of his majesty, make them consider him as their enemy and declared persecutor, and bring on, at length, that intestine war which, according to them, was so much to be desired, for the interests of the holy father and the true religion.

THE clergy did not stop here; they made remonstrances severe enough to merit the title of threats. His majesty had the complaisance to listen to them, and permitted a conference to be held, in which doctor Du-Val on one side, and the minister Tilenus on the other, endeavouring to support their cause, debated with much heat, and, in my opinion, to little purpose; though each boasted afterwards, that he had vanquished his adversary. I speak as one who was a witness of the dispute, for I suffered myself to be drawn along with the croud which ran thither, as to a very interesting spectacle. I did not come in till toward the conclusion, when the two disputants were beginning to sink under the fatigue. I know not for what reason they were desirous of making me play the part of a judge upon this occasion; probably because they were informed I had been

policy that could be independent of religion: he was prepossessed, that the interests of the latter are no where in such safe hands as in those of the pope, the jesuits, and all such as had maintained it in the days of the league. He did not at all like Spain, much less the house of Austria, or the duke of Savoy; and he had an utter aversion to the calvinists. See on the subject of the dispensation, p. 480, 492, 519, 596, 615, 701, 717, 727, 758, 769, &c.

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employed by his majeſty to draw up the articles of marriage between the princeſs Catherine and the prince of Bar. They were beginning to repeat to me all the points of a diſpute, which had already taken up ſeveral hours; but I earneſtly intreated them to ſpare me either this trouble or this honour, telling them that if two ſuch learned men had not been able to reconcile the canon and decrees of the pope with the holy ſcripture, or to prove that ſuch a taſk was impoſſible, it could not be expected that ſuch an ignorant perſon as I ſhould be equal to it; and this was really my opinion.

THIS conference not having produced all the effects the clergy expected from it *, and finding likewiſe that they ſucceeded no better at Rome, they declared, that nothing ſhould be capable of prevailing upon them to give their conſent to this marriage. Little regard would have been paid to this; but as there was a neceſſity for getting a biſhop to perform this ceremony, and that all thoſe gentlemen held together, hence aroſe an obſtacle, upon which they founded their laſt hopes.

IN this perplexity the king was adviſed to have recourſe to the archbiſhop † of Rouen, from whom, being his natural brother, and obliged to him for the biſhopric, more complaiſance was to be expected; beſides, his majeſty, as well as all France, knew this prelate to be not very ſcrupulous (to ſay no more) in matters of religion. However, upon the firſt propo-

* This conference was held in the preſence of the lady Catherine: "But," ſays the Journal d'Henry IV. "becauſe the doctors of the "Sorbonne made uſe of ſuch ſubtil and ſcholaſtic terms as the ſaid "lady did not at all underſtand, the calviniſt miniſters eaſily per-"ſuaded her to continue in her religion." Perefixe ſays, that the king not being able to accompliſh her converſion, though he made uſe of threatenings, ſaid one day to the duke of Bar, "My good "couſin, 'tis your buſineſs to break her."

† Charles, the natural ſon of Antony of Navarre by mademoiſelle de la Bernudiere de le Guiche, otherwiſe called la Rouet, who was one of the maids of honour to the queen-mother.

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ſition made him by the king, the archbiſhop, like a devout rebel, overwhelmed him with citations, as often ill as well choſen, from the holy fathers, the holy canons, and the holy ſcriptures. The king, aſtoniſhed, as may be well imagined, at ſuch uncommon language from a man who generally talked of quite different matters, could hardly hinder himſelf from laughing in his face, aſking him, by what miracle it was that he had become ſo learned and conſcientious? Suppoſing, however, the archbiſhop might be wrought upon by ſerious arguments to comply, he tried their efficacy; but finding him ſtill untractable, he grew angry, and reproached him with his ingratitude. "Since you carry it ſo high," added Henry, reſuming his firſt air of pleaſantry, "I will "ſend you a great doctor, your uſual confeſſor, who "is wonderfully ſkilful in caſes of conſcience." This great doctor and director of conſciences was Roquelaure, an old companion of Monſieur de Rouen's, and an actual ſharer in his debauches, by whoſe intreaty he had obtained the archbiſhopric. The prelate underſtood perfectly well the meaning of this little threat; and the embarraſſment he appeared to be in was a proof that he was under ſome apprehenſions of thoſe great advantages which an accuſtomed familiarity would give Roquelaure over him, without the addition of thoſe which he derived from that wit which all the court acknowledged to be free, ingenious, and fruitful in the moſt happy fallies; and the archbiſhop himſelf was not often guilty of carrying too far the reſpect due to the epiſcopal character.

THE king having quitted monſieur de Rouen, ſent for Roquelaure. "Do you know, Roquelaure," ſaid he to him, "that your archbiſhop takes upon "him to play the prelate and doctor, and would "quote the holy canons to me, which I believe he "underſtands as little of as you or I; however, by "his refuſal my ſiſter's marriage is ſtopped: there-

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" fore pray go to him, and talk to him as you uſed
" to do, and put him in mind of paſt times."

" By the Lord, ſire," replied Roquelaure, " this
" is not well done of him; for it is high time, in
" my opinion, that our ſiſter Kate ſhould taſte the
" ſweets of marriage. But pray, ſire, tell me what
" reaſons this fine fellow of a biſhop gave you for
" his refuſal? he ſeldom has much better to give
" than myſelf. I will go to him and teach him
" his duty."

He did not fail to perform his promiſe. " What
" is this I hear, archbiſhop?" ſaid he, as ſoon as he
entered his apartment: " they tell me you have been
" playing the coxcomb; by the Lord, I will not
" ſuffer it; it derogates too much from my honour,
" ſince every one ſays you are governed by me.
" Know you not that at your entreaty I became
" your ſecurity to the king, when I prevailed upon
" him to give you the archbiſhopric of Rouen;
" therefore I deſire you would not make me out a
" liar, by continuing thus obſtinately to act like a
" fool: this might do between you and I, who are
" often ſeen quarrelling at dice, but ſuch diſputes
" muſt not be thought on when our maſter's ſervice
" and his abſolute commands are in queſtion."

" Merciful God!" replied monſieur de Rouen,
" what is this you would have me to do, Roque-
" laure? What! muſt I make myſelf ridiculous,
" and ſuffer the reproaches of all the other prelates,
" by an action which the whole world agrees is un-
" juſtifiable, and which every one of the biſhops to
" whom it has been propoſed by the king has re-
" fuſed?" " Hold a little, pray," interrupted Ro-
quelaure: " there is a wide difference between them
" and you; for thoſe men have puzzled their brains
" ſo much about Greek and Latin, that they are
" become fools——and you are the king's brother,
" and obliged to obey all his commands, without
" any heſitation: the king did not make you an

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" archbishop to preach to him, and quote the " canons, but to do whatever his service required: " if you continue this perverseness and obstinacy, I " will acquaint Jeanneton de Condom, Bernarde " l'Eveille, and master Julian, with the whole " story: do you understand me? don't let me tell " you this a second time: know, that nothing ought " to be so dear to you as the king's favour, which, " together with my solicitations, have done you " more good than all the Greek and Latin of the " others: By the Lord, it is a fine thing to hear " you talk of the canons, of which you know as " little, as of High-dutch." Monsieur de Rouen endeavoured to persuade him, that he ought to quit that ludicrous style, which was agreeable enough when he was in his youth; and hinted something concerning paradise to him. " How! paradise!" interrupted Roquelaure: " Are you such an ass to " talk of a place where you have never been, where " you know not what is doing, or whether you " shall be admitted when you attempt to get in, till " another time!" " Yes, yes," said the archbishop, " I shall be admitted there, I do not doubt " of it." " You talk finely," said his companion, pressing still harder upon him. " By the Lord, I " believe paradise is as little designed for you as the " Louvre for me: but let us lay aside a little your " paradise, your canons, and your conscience †, and " do you resolve to marry the princess to the prince " of Bar; for if you fail, I shall take from you " three or four paltry Latin words that you have al- " ways in your mouth; farther the said deponent " knoweth not: and then adieu to the cross and " mitre; and, what is worse, to your fine palace of " Gaillon, and revenue of ten thousand crowns."

† There is something original in the turn of this conversation; but the author might very well, one would think, have spared some expressions which savour a little of libertinism.

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MANY other things passed between these two men, which may be guessed at by this sample. Roquelaure would not leave the archbishop till he had made him promise to marry the princess, and accordingly he was the person that performed the ceremony †. I received from both parties very magnificent presents, in return for the pains I had taken; among others a Spanish horse of great value, which was given me by the duke of Lorrain: I sent him to his majesty, who ordered me to keep him.

THIS was not the only occasion on which the clergy were against the king; they made a more resolute and likewise a more important opposition against the registering the edict of Nantes, which always appeared to them a difficult morsel to digest: as they had for almost a year held an assembly at Paris on this account, they had had time to prejudice the parliament, and other sovereign courts, as well as the Sorbonne, against this edict. All these bodies, as soon as it was published, rebelled, and occasioned disorders that may be better imagined than described. It was the subject of all discourse, every one applied himself to criticise the piece, and to offer different arguments against it, all which were far from being just, as well as the reasons the parliament gave for not registering it: but that candour and sincerity I have proposed to observe here in matters that nearest concern me, oblige me to confess, that they were not absolutely to blame.

FOR example, the protestants, by one of the articles of the edict, were permitted to call and hold all

† "The ceremony was performed one Sunday morning," says the Chronologie Septennaire. ... "The king came to fetch the lady "Catherine, his sister, when she was dressed; and leading her by the "hand into his closet, whither her said future spouse had come be"fore her, he ordered M. ... the archbishop of Rouen, to marry "them, &c. and that it was his pleasure it should be so. This the "archbishop at first refused, alledging, that the usual solemnity ought "to have been observed therein. To which the king very learnedly "made answer, That his presence supplied the want of all other so"lemnity, and that his closet was a consecrated place.

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ſorts of aſſemblies, convocations, &c. when and where they pleaſed, without aſking leave either of his majeſty or the magiſtrates: and likewiſe to admit in them all foreigners whatever, without acquainting any ſuperior tribunal; as alſo on their ſide, to be preſent, without licence, at the aſſemblies which were held amongſt the foreigners. It is very plain, that a point as abſolutely contrary to all the laws of the kingdom, as prejudicial to the authority of the king ‡, the right of the magiſtracy, and the utility and quiet of the people, could not have been maintained but by ſtratagem; and it was upon this point likewiſe that the enemies of the proteſtants inſiſted chiefly, in the ſeveral remonſtrances they made to the king, each alledging thoſe arguments in which they were moſt intereſted. The parliament remonſtrated, that this article completed the ruin of their authority, which the clergy had already confined to ſuch narrow limits, as well as the king's (for it was pretended, that theſe two authorities were ſo cloſely connected that they could not be ſeparated) that if appeals againſt the irregular exertion of eccleſiaſtical authority ſhould be taken away, they would have only the ſhadow of any power. The clergy and the Sorbonne complained of the ſuperiority this conceſſion would give the proteſtant over the catholic church in France, which had never been poſſeſſed of

‡ "This point," ſays le Septenaire, "the mareſchal de Fouillon "had managed with ſome perſons, who perhaps were not aware of "the danger of it; but the ſieur Berthier, who was agent for the cler-"gy, and biſhop of Rieux, diſputed it ſo warmly with the mareſchal, "in the preſence of the king, that after hearing his reaſons, and in "regard of the importance of the point itſelf, his majeſty ordered it "to be erased." Ann. 1599. p. 66. This account of M. Cayet's agrees with that of F. Matthieu, tom. II. liv. ii. p. 280, & ſeq. ſo that the article of the edict of Nantes, which was ſo warmly conteſted, being apparently the eighty-ſecond, is at preſent as diſadvantageous to the calviniſts, as it was formerly favourable to them; ſince it forbids them all cabals, negotiations, intelligences, aſſemblies, councils, leagues, aſſociations, either in or out of the kingdom, aſſeſſments and raiſing of money, &c. without his majeſty's expreſs permiſſion.

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so large a power in its jurisdiction; and this was certainly true. Lastly, they enumerated all the bad consequences which this absolute independance of the French huguenots might produce, either amongst themselves, or their associations with all the enemies of France in Europe.

The king had not yet examined the edict with care; all he knew of it was from a slight reading, in which he had, doubtless, glanced over this clause, or probably wholly omitted it. The surprize he discovered to those who talked to him in that strain, shewed he had been deceived; and he promised them to consider it attentively, and give them an answer. When they left him, he immediately sent for me, and shewing me the edict, I concealed from him none of the sentiments I have delivered here: I added, that by too great zeal to make that article advantageous for the protestants, I thought he was doing them a mischief, in that it would give large scope for all the slander that would be invented against all the worthy men of the party, of their intriguing with foreigners against the state, or of suffering themselves to be suborned. Henry, still more confirmed in his opinion, sent me back with orders to prepare myself to support all these motives in the assembly of the protestants, which he would have to be called immediately; while he, in the mean time, went to demand an explanation of the edict from those who had drawn it up.

Messieurs de Schomberg, de Thou, Calignon, and Jeannin (for the king sent directly for them all four) were greatly disconcerted by the reproaches the king made them of having abused his confidence. Schomberg and de Thou, in the name of them all, replied, that they had been obliged to act in the manner they had done, by the threats of messieurs de Bouillon and de la Tremouille, who declared in the name of the whole party, that if this article was denied to them, they would break all agreement, and

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and even commence war againſt the catholics; which ſeemed to them of the utmoſt conſequence, the peace with Spain labouring at that time under great difficulties. The king contenting himſelf with this excuſe, ordered Berthier, ſyndic of the clergy, to report it to the aſſembly, and to add from him, that amongſt four perſons, to whom he had committed the care of drawing up the edict, there being no proteſtant but Calignon, he could not perſuade himſelf that the three others would have given the proteſtant religion ſuch an advantage over the catholic. The anſwer made by the biſhops ſhewed plainly, that they had not the ſame opinion of thoſe three gentlemen that his majeſty had; they were treated in full aſſembly as falſe catholics, who in many articles agreed with the proteſtant,, and had no ſcruple about the reſt. Whilſt we condemn this ſecond imputation * as it deſerves to be, we ſtill allow, that with regard to the firſt, every thing made againſt the writers of the edict; and that their reply to his majeſty did not ſo effectually deſtroy the opinion that might be conceived of it, as the ſilence they obſerved in his preſence gave it ſtrength †.

THE duke of Bouillon, however, had certainly thoſe ſentiments they attributed to him. By endeavouring to come at the bottom of the affair, I learnt

* If a certain private converſation be true, which d'Aubigné, makes the preſident de Thou to hold with the duke de la Tremouille, when he was ſent by his majeſty to the aſſembly of the calviniſts, the ſuſpicions of the clergy would not be ill-founded: "You have too "much judgment," ſays the preſident to him, "not to know very "well, that conſidering the point at which matters now ſtand, and "the conceſſions we have already made you, the demands which you "may make are not at their utmoſt height . . . . . M. de Schomberg is a lutheran, and very far from being a good calviniſt; as for "my own part, you ſhall know the inmoſt thought of my heart." Tom. III. lib. v. ch. i. But it is very probable that d'Aubigné has related this converſation upon the credit of perſons not to be depended on, as alſo ſome other points of his hiſtory, which at that time drew an arret of parliament upon that work.

† M. de Sully's ſincerity in all this is ſo remarkable, that we cannot, in my opinion, ſufficiently admire it in a proteſtant.

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that he had in reality discovered an insurmountable obstinacy: but was there no other means to make the others more reasonable? and then, what could he do by himself? If all the protestants were like the duke de Bouillon, what could the writers of the edict mean by this blind compliance with their inclinations? was the king and the realm to be betrayed for necessity? as nothing could be thought worse than that by honest and skilful negotiators, they can hardly be charged with such a notion. For my own part, I always thought Bouillon the sole favourer of the project contained in that article, as he had been the author of it: he considered only himself, and disregarded others. I will now shew the ultimate design of all his politics.

The duke of Bouillon, in order to terminate in his favour the dispute for precedency between him and the dukes and peers of France; as well as the mareschals that were more antient than him, formed a design to get his sovereignty of Sedan † declared a fief of the empire. But this prerogative was not to deprive him of all communication with the protestant French lords, otherwise he would lose more than he gained. The medium he thought upon to reconcile his interest with his ambition, was to have his church of Sedan comprehended in the protestant churches of France. This he did by means of the article in question: mean time he would continue to make himself be treated as a foreign prince.

Berthier came back to the king, to give him an account of the disposition in which he found the prelates of the assembly, together with the result of their deliberations; which was to take from the four persons who drew up the edict all cognizance of the affairs of religion; and the disputed article, and some others less essential, should be mended; which his majesty likewise promised.

† Consult l'Historie du duc de Bouillon, which we have quoted several times already, liv. v.

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Nevertheless, the assembly of the chief protestants then at Paris having been summoned the day after that in which this agreement betwixt the king and the commissaries was made, I received, as usual, a note inviting me to be there. I had left off going to these assemblies, ever since I perceived that my presence laid a restraint upon three or four of the leading men in it, and was good for nothing but to produce altercations. I deceived them, by presenting myself at this. The duke of Bouillon easily comprehended the design which had brought me there thus contrary to my usual custom, and hinted as much with an ironical severity; which I answered, by excusing myself on account of the multiplicity of affairs that took up my time, and by feigning not to know the occasion on which the present assembly was held. I gave no attention to the sullen air which the duke de la Tremouille assumed, nor the expression he let fall to intimate, that he was not persuaded of the truth of what I said; but went and seated myself near messieurs de Moüy, de Clermont, and de Sainte-Marie-du-Mont, who informed me of the business that was to be brought upon the carpet; assuring me, that the article which had made so much noise was disapproved of by almost all the protestants; and that none but messieurs de Bouillon, de la Tremouille, du Plessis, and some others of the cabal, insisted on it, in order to bring on a civil war. They could not obtain their point, notwithstanding the tumults they had occasioned, and the clamours they made in the assembly. When it came to the vote it was carried against them, the contrary opinion prevailed, and with reason, for the best arguments were on our side *.

* The edict of Nantes was at length verified on Thursday the 25th of February this same year, after many difficulties started by the clergy, the university, and parliament. It was upon this occasion that Henry IV. told the bishops; "You have exhorted me concerning my duty; let me now exhort you concerning yours: let us excite a mutual emulation in each other, which of us shall perform their

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THEY likewiſe agreed upon ſome qualifications with regard to two or three other articles, in which the public good did not ſeem to be ſufficiently conſidered. The juſtneſs and mildneſs of Henry's conduct was acknowledged by every one. After the affair was thus ſettled, he explained his motives to the greater number; and for the reſt, he thought only of hindering them from doing worſe.

HE acted with the ſame prudence with reſpect to ſome diſaffected catholics, who being unwilling to appear openly themſelves, brought one Martha Broſſier, a pretended demoniac, in play, who was become the object of the people's curioſity, who are always ſtruck with the marvellous, whether true or falſe. It is indeed ſurprizing, that a matter ſo ridiculous in itſelf, and which was even below the conſideration of the mob, ſhould be talked of for a year and a half, and become an affair of ſtate: one

" their parts the beſt. My predeceſſors gave you good words; but, I, " with my grey jacket on, will ſhew you good deeds: though I am " all grizzled without, yet I am all gold within: I will look into " your papers, and anſwer them as favourably as I can." The following was the return he made to the parliament, when they came to make him remonſtrances; " You ſee me in my cloſet, where I " come to ſpeak with you, not in my royal robes, nor with my " ſword and other military habiliments on, as my predeceſſors were " wont, nor like a prince who is to receive an ambaſſador, but clad " like the father of a family, in his plain doublet, to ſpeak familiarly with his children; what I have to ſay to you is, to intreat " you would regiſter, with the uſual ſolemnities, the edict which I " have granted to thoſe of the calviniſt religion. What I have done " is for the ſake of peace, which I have concluded with the neighbouring powers around me, and would have the ſame obſerved with" in my own dominions." After he had told them the reaſons that induced him to make this edict, he added; " Such as would hinder " my edict from paſſing, are for war, which I will to-morrow declare " againſt the proteſtants, but I will not carry it on, I will ſend them " to it. I made the edict, and would have it obſerved: my will " ought to be a ſufficient reaſon; for in an obedient ſtate they never " aſk their prince any other. I am king, I ſpeak to you as ſuch, " and I will be obeyed." Peref. ibid. and Journal de Henry IV. ibid. See alſo in M. de Thou, and in le Septennaire, ann. 1599. the ſeveral modifications which were added to the edict of Nantes and all the conferences held on this occaſion.

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half of the world ſuffer themſelves to be dazzled by every thing that ſeems to be ſupernatural, and others are kept in awe, not by the thing itſelf, but by the motives upon which it is founded. Martha Broſſier met with many protectors among the clergy, even as far as Rome, whither ſhe took care to be carried. The king, without any extraordinary notice, allowed * both the time and means neceſſary to make itſelf known: after which, the whole trick ended in the general contempt of its authors and actreſſes.

* We have a very curious account of all that relates to this pretended demoniac in M. de Thou, at the beginning of book cxiii. ann. 1599. an abſtract of which is as follows: One James Broſſier, a baker at Romorantin in Sologne, taking a diſlike to his own trade, turned conjuror, with a deſign to travel about the country with his three daughters, Martha, Silvina, and Mary; the eldeſt, who is the perſon ſpoken of here, had ſucceeded ſo well, by the inſtructions which her father had given her, to counterfeit a demoniac, that ſhe impoſed upon every body at Orleans and Cleri, except Charles Miron, biſhop of Angers, who found out the impoſture, by putting common water in the place of holy water, and holy in the place of common; by repeating a verſe from Virgil inſtead of the beginning of the exorciſm, and touching her with a key inſtead of his epiſcopal croſier. This did not hinder her from coming to Paris, where ſhe pitched on the church of St. Geneviève for the ſcene on which to ſhew herſelf to the people, who flocked thither in great numbers. She impoſed upon all the credulous eccleſiaſtics, and upon the capuchins, who began to exerciſe her in good earneſt; and even upon ſome phyſicians whom Henry IV. had ſent to ſee her: though all the reſt depoſed formally againſt her, eſpecially Michael Marceſcot, one of the phyſicians, who publicly convicted her of not underſtanding Greek or Latin, and having no greater capacity than what is common to her ſex; and, in ſhort, of being an impoſtor and arrant cheat. But notwithſtanding all this, the eccleſiaſtics and preachers knew ſo well how to intereſt religion in this affair, and the pretended demoniac played her part ſo well, that the arret of parliament, that enjoined her, as alſo her father, to return home, how wiſe and reaſonable ſoever it was, occaſioned ſtrange murmurings, and almoſt a revolt in Paris: and this gave the king a deal of uneaſineſs, who ſaw, that what enemies he had remaining of the old league, did appear again on this occaſion. Alexander de la Rochefoucaut, lord of Saint-Martin, and count de Randan, even undertook to revive this affair, by cauſing Martha to be ſent to Avignon, and thence to Rome, where ſhe gained ſtill more partiſans. But, unluckily for her, cardinal d'Oſſat was there, who employed himſelf ſo effectually in this affair, that at length Martha and all her family ſaw themſelves utterly abandoned: and they lived and died deſpiſed and quite miſerable. Conſult alſo the other hiſtorians.

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THE death of a great many perſons of diſtinction afforded matter for other diſcourſe. The chancellor de Chiverney, Schomberg, and d'Incarville; all three members of the council of finances, dying within a ſhort time of each other, occaſioned a great alteration of affairs: the ſeals were given to Bellievre; the office of comptroller-general, which d'Incarville had poſſeſſed, was, at my ſolicitation, granted to de Vienne; and that of ſuperintendant of the finances was reſtored in my favour. Henry having ſent for me to the garden of the Tuilleries, where he was walking, told me that he was reſolved to entruſt the care of the finances to one man only; and aſſuming a very ſerious manner, made me promiſe to give freely my opinion of that man, when he ſhould name him to me. Having aſſured him that I would, he ſmiled, and tapping my cheek, told me, that I had reaſon to know him well, ſince it was myſelf. His majeſty beſtowed on me likewiſe the poſt of ſurveyor of the highways, for which he ſent me the patents, together with thoſe of ſuperintendant of the fortifications. And Sancy, reſigning himſelf up to his uſual whims*, having thought proper to retire from the council, and to give up the office of overſeer of the works, the king added theſe employments likewiſe to the other favours he had loaded me with. The appointments for the ſuperintendancy were ſettled at the rate of twenty thouſand livres; thoſe of ſurveyor of the highways, and of Paris in particular, were ten thouſand livres.

HIS majeſty was ſo well pleaſed with this method of fixing the rate of ſalaries, that he was likewiſe deſirous of regulating in the ſame manner the rewards he propoſed to grant me, as well, he ſaid, to prevent me from expecting a gratuity for every conſiderable ſervice I did him, as to ſpare himſelf the trouble of cauſing all the preſents he made me to be

* Joſeph Scaliger ſpeaks, as well as our author, of M. de Sancy as a fanatic, and as very ſubject to enthuſiaſtic reveries.

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regiſtered, ſince without that, I would not receive any from him, however little their value was: he therefore declared to me, that all thoſe rewards and preſents ſhould for the future be comprized in one ſettled gratuity which ſhould be paid me the beginning of every year, in the form of letters patents, regiſtered by the parliament; and aſked me beforehand if I was ſatisfied with the ſum, which was ſixy thouſand livres: adding, that it was his deſire, that with this money I ſhould purchaſe eſtates, which I ſhould be at liberty to diſpoſe of in favour of thoſe of my children who made themſelves moſt worthy of my affection; in order to keep them more firmly attached to me. This goodneſs of the king's merited my moſt grateful acknowledgments. However, this regulation which I have mentioned here was not made till the year 1600, and did not begin to take place till the year 1601.

MADEMOISELLE de Bourbon ‡ died likewiſe this year: and monſieur d'Eſpinac †, archbiſhop of Lyons, who may be ſaid to have taſted all kinds of fortunes; then madam la Connetable; and after her madam de Beaufort: theſe two laſt deaths made a prodigious noiſe every where, and were attended with a great ſimiliarity of very uncommon circumſtances; both were ſeized with a violent diſtemper, that laſted only three or four days; and both, though extremely beautiful, became horribly diſfigured, which, together with ſome other ſymptoms, that at any other time would have been thought natural, or only the effects of poiſon, raiſed a report in the world, that the deaths of theſe two young ladies, as well as their elevation, was the work of the devil,

‡ She was daughter to Henry I. the prince of Condé, by his firſt wife, the princeſs of Nevers, marchioneſs de l'Iſle, &c.

† Peter d'Eſpinac: he had been a great partiſan of the league: however, P. Matthieu aſſures, that he had done conſiderable ſervices to Henry IV. againſt Spain, tom. II. liv. ii. p. 308. where he gives an elogium of his virtues. M. de Thou, on the contrary, repreſents him, in book cx. as an inceſtuous and ſimonical perſon.

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who made them pay for that ſhort felicity he had procured them. And this was certainly believed, not only amongſt the people generally credulous to a high degree of folly, but the courtiers themſelves: ſo prevalent at that time was the infection of trading in the occult ſciences, and ſo great was the hatred and envy to theſe two ladies, on account of the high rank they enjoyed.

THIS is what was related of the conſtable's † lady, and (as it is ſaid) by the ladies that were then at her houſe: She was converſing gayly with them in her cloſet, when one of her women entered in great terror, and told her that a certain perſon, who called himſelf a gentleman, and had indeed a good preſence, ſaving that he was quite black, and of a gigantic ſtature, had juſt entered her anti-chamber, and deſired to ſpeak to her about affairs of great conſequence, which he could not communicate to any but her. At every circumſtance relating to this extraordinary courier, which the woman was ordered to deſcribe minutely, the lady was ſeen to turn pale, and was ſo oppreſſed with grief, that ſhe could ſcarce tell her women to intreat the gentleman, in her name, to defer his viſit to another time; to which he replied, in a tone that filled the meſſenger with horror, that ſince the lady would not come willingly, he would take the trouble to go and ſeek her in her cloſet. She, who was ſtill more afraid of a public than a private audience, reſolved at laſt to go to him, but with all the marks of a deep deſpair.

THE terrible meſſage performed, ſhe returned to her company, bathed in tears and half dead with diſmay; ſhe had only time to ſpeak a few words to take leave of them, particularly of three ladies who were her friends, and to aſſure them that ſhe ſhould never ſee them more. That inſtant ſhe was ſeized with exquiſite pains, and died at the end of three

† Louiſa de Budos, ſecond wife to Henry, Conſtable de Montmorency, was daughter to James de Budos, viſcount de Portes.

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days, inſpiring all who ſaw her with horror at the frightful change of every feature in her face. Of this ſtory the wiſe thought as they ought to think.

MADAM de Beaufort was the weakeſt of her ſex with regard to divination; ſhe made no ſecret of her conſulting with aſtrologers, and always had a great many of them about her, who never quitted her; and what is moſt ſurprizing, although ſhe always, doubtleſs, paid them well, yet they never foretold her any thing but what was diſagreeable *: one ſaid, that ſhe would never be married but once; another, that ſhe ſhould die young; a third, that ſhe ſhould take care of being with child; and a fourth, that ſhe ſhould be betrayed by one of her friends. Hence proceeded that melancholy which oppreſſed her, and which ſhe could never afterwards get rid of. Gracienne, one of her women, has ſince told me, that ſhe would retire from all company to paſs whole nights in grief, and in weeping on account of theſe predictions.

BEING then far advanced in her pregnancy, many perſons will be at no loſs to gueſs the cauſe of this misfortune which attended it. She was already greatly indiſpoſed both in body and mind, when, at the latter end of Lent, ſhe was deſirous of making one of the party with the king at Fontainebleau: ſhe ſtaid there but a few days. The king who was not willing to incur the cenſure of keeping this lady with him during the Eaſter-holidays, intreated her to leave him to ſpend them at Fountainebleau, and to return herſelf to Paris †. Madam de Beaufort received this order with tears, it was ſtill worſe when they came to part; Henry, on his ſide, more paſ-

* The weakneſs of M. de Sully, in believing judicial aſtrology, diſcovers itſelf in a thouſand places in his Memoirs, in ſpite of all his caution.

† According to P. Matthieu, tom. II. liv. ii. p. 316. ſhe came to Paris, in order to have the articles of the purchaſe of Chateauneuf in Perche expedited.

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sionately fond than ever of this lady, who had already brought him two sons, and a daughter, named Henrietta, did himself equal violence. He conducted her half-way to Paris ‡; and although they proposed only an absence of a few days, yet they dreaded the moment of parting, as if it had been for a much longer time. Those who are inclined to give faith to presages will lay some stress upon this relation. The two lovers several times renewed their parting endearments, and in every thing they said to each other at that moment, some people have pretended to find proofs of those presages of an inevitable fate.

MADAM de Beaufort spoke to the king as if for the last time ‖; she recommended to him her children, her house of Monceaux, and her domestics: the king listened to her, but, instead of comforting her, gave way to a sympathizing grief. Again they took leave of each other, and a secret emotion again drew them to each other's arms. Henry would not so easily have torn himself from her, if the mareschal d'Ornano, Roquelaure, and Frontenac, had not taken him away by force. At length they prevailed upon him to return to Fountainbleau; and the last words he said was, to recommend his mistress to the conduct of la Varenne, with orders to provide every thing she wanted, and to conduct her safely to the house of Zamet, to whom he had chosen to confide the care of a person so dear to him.

I WAS at Paris when the duchess of Beaufort arrived there; and intending to go with my wife a few days after to receive the communion at Rosny, whither I carried the prince and princess of Orange, to whom I was desirous of shewing the new buildings which the king's liberality had enabled me to

‡ At Melun she lay the day before, whence the king conducted her to the boat in which she embarked to come down to the arsenal.

‖ D'Aubigné speaks in the same manner of this parting, tom. liv. v. ch. 3.

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raiſe there; I thought I was under a neceſſity of waiting upon this lady to take my leave of her. She no longer remembred any thing that had paſſed at Saint-Germain, but gave me a moſt obliging reception: not daring to explain herſelf clearly upon that compliance with her projects to which ſhe ſo ardently wiſhed to bring me, ſhe contented herſelf with endeavouring to engage me in her intereſts, by mingling with thoſe civilities which ſhe ſhewed but to few perſons, words that carried a double ſenſe, and hinted to me a boundleſs grandeur, if I would relax a little of the ſeverity of my counſels to the king with regard to her. I, who was as little moved with the chimera's that filled her head, as with thoſe ſhe thought to inſpire me with, pretended not to underſtand any part of a diſcourſe ſo intelligible; and anſwered her in equivocal terms with general proteſtations of reſpect, attachment, and devotion; which ſignify what one will.

At my return home, I deſired my wife to pay the ſame compliment to the ducheſs: ſhe was received with equal tenderneſs: madam de Beaufort intreating her to love her, and to be with her as a friend, entered into confidences, that would have ſeemed the laſt inſtance of the moſt intimate friendſhip to thoſe that, like madam de Roſny, were ignorant that the ducheſs, who had no great ſhare of underſtanding, was not very delicate in the choice of her confidants: it was her higheſt pleaſure, to entertain any perſon ſhe firſt ſaw with her ſchemes and expectations; and the more thoſe ſhe converſed with were her inferiors, the leſs reſtraint ſhe laid on herſelf; for then ſhe no longer guarded her expreſſions, and often aſſumed the airs of a queen.

She had as little caution with reſpect to what really happened, as to what ſhe was in expectation would happen; too much ſimplicity on ſuch occaſions gave riſe probably to thoſe reports which were ſpread in the world concerning ſome irregularities in her

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her conduct when she was very young. These censures, however, appeared to me to be the mere effect of the malice of her enemies; for it could not be imagined that a woman would carry her imprudence and folly so far as to say both good and ill of herself indifferently; and I never thought I had any reason to reproach myself with having, for six years, confined a woman named la Rouse, who was one of her servants, and her husband in the Bastie, who, after the death of this lady, continued to load her memory with the utmost infamy; for although all they said had been true, yet the respect that was due to her family, and still more to the tenderness the king had for her and the children she brought him, ought to have silenced their slanders.

Madam de Rosny could not help being surprized at the duchess's discourse, and was still more so, when this lady making an aukward assemblage of the civilities which are practised between equals, and these airs of a queen, told her she might come to her *coucher* and *lever*, whenever she pleased; and many other speeches of the same kind. My wife, as well as every one else, concluded there would be a great change in the duchess's fortune, and returned home full of these reflections, which she communicated to me. I had not even disclosed to my wife what had passed between the king and me upon this subject, as well as the scene at St. Germain: I promised her to acquaint her with the true state of things, provided she would not tell the princess of Orange what madam de Beaufort had said to her; and we set out together for Rosny.

Two days after, which was the Saturday before Easter, as I was performing my promise to madam de Rosny, and acquainting her with the duchess's design to get herself declared queen, all the practices of her relations and dependents for that purpose, the struggles the king had in his own mind, and the resolution he had at length taken to overcome himself,

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adding some reflections upon the calamities which a contrary conduct would bring upon the kingdom, I heard the bell of the first gate of the castle without the mote ring; and none of my servants answering, as it was yet scarcely day, the bell was rung with more violence, and a voice several times repeated, *I come from the king.* Immediately I wakened a footman, and while he went to open the gate, I slipped on a night-gown, and ran down stairs, greatly alarmed at being sent to so early in the morning.

THE courier said that he had travelled all night to tell me that the king desired I would come instantly to Fontainebleau: his countenance had so deep a concern on it that I asked him if the king was ill? "No, he replied, but he is in the utmost "affliction; madam the duchess is dead." The news appeared to me so improbable that I made him repeat it several times; and when convinced that it was true, I felt my mind divided between my grief for the condition to which her death reduced the king, and my joy for the advantage all France would gain by it, which was increased by my being fully persuaded in my own mind, that the king, by this transitory sorrow, would purchase a release from a thousand anxieties, and much more anguish of heart than what he now actually suffered. I went up again to my wife's chamber full of these reflections, "You will neither go to the duchess's *coucher* nor *lever*," said I. "for she is dead." I brought the courier up with me, that while I dress, and he breakfasted, he might inform us of all the circumstances of this great event, which was still better related in the letter la Varenne had written from Paris to the king, and which his majesty sent me by the courier, together with a second from la Varenne, directed to myself.

ZAMET *, had received his guest with all the af-

† Sebastian Zamet, a rich private gentleman, was an Italian, a native of Lucca: but he got himself naturalized in 1581, together with

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ſiduity of a courtier who is ſolicitous to pleaſe, and neglected nothing which he thought might contribute to make her paſs the time agreeably. On Maundy-Thurſday madam de Beaufort after dinner, where ſhe had eaten of the greateſt delicacies, and all prepared to her taſte, had an inclination to hear the evening ſervice at St. Anthony the Leſs: ſhe was there ſeized with fainting fits, which obliged her to be carried back immediately to Zamet's. As ſoon as ſhe arrived ſhe went into the garden, and was immediately attacked with an apoplectic fit, which it was expected would have inſtantly ſtifled her. She recovered a little, through the aſſiſtance they gave her; and ſtrongly poſſeſſed with a notion that ſhe was poiſoned *, commanded them to carry her from that houſe to madam de Sourdis her aunt, who lived in the cloiſter Saint-Germain.

Scarce had they time to put her in bed when thick ſucceeding convulſions, ſo dreadful as amazed all that were preſent, and in a word all the ſymptoms of approaching death, left Varenne, who had taken up the pen to write the king word of the accident that had happened, nothing elſe to ſay but that the phyſicians all diſpaired of his miſtreſs's life, by the nature of her diſtemper, which required the moſt violent remedies, and the circumſtance of her being far gone with child, which made all applications

his two brothers Horace and John Antony. He deſired the notary who drew up his daughter's contract of marriage, to ſtyle him lord of ſeventeen hundred thouſand crowns. Henry IV. had pitched on his houſe for his meals and parties of pleaſure: this prince beſides loved him becauſe he was a facetious and merry man.

* D'Aubigné gives us to underſtand this, when he ſays, that after ſhe had refreſhed herſelf with Zamet, by eating a large citron, or, according to others, a ſallad, "ſhe immediately felt ſuch an inflammation "in her throat, and ſuch violent twichings in her ſtomach, that," &c But neither de Thou, Baſſompierre, le Septennarie, nor any other hiſtorian, imputes her diſorder to poiſon. Le Grain aſcribes it to the crude and cold juſtice of the citron. Sauval ſays, that he knew ſome old men who remembered to have ſeen the ducheſs lie in ſtate in the nunnery of Saint-Germain.

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mortal.

mortal †. Scarce had he ſent away the letter when madam de Beaufort drawing near her laſt moments, was ſeized with new convulſions which turned her black, and diſfigured her ſo horribly, that la Varenne, not doubting but the king, upon the receipt of his letter, would ſet out immediately to ſee his miſtreſs, thought it better to ſend him word in a ſecond billet that ſhe was dead, than to expoſe him to a ſpectacle at once ſo dreadful and afflicting as that of a woman whom he tenderly loved, expiring in agitation, ſtruggles, and agonies, that left hardly any thing of human in her figure.

La Varenne, in the letter he ſent me by the ſame courier, informed me that the ducheſs was not dead, but by what he could judge had not an hour to live *; in effect ſhe expired in a few moment after, in a general ſubverſion of all the functions of nature capable of inſpiring horror and diſmay. The king, who upon the receipt of la Varenne's firſt letter, had not failed to mount his horſe immediately, received the ſecond when he was got half way to Paris, and liſtening to nothing but the exceſs of his paſſion, was reſolved, notwithſtanding all that could be ſaid to him, to give himſelf the conſolation of ſeeing his miſtreſs ‡

† "The phyſician la Riviere came in great haſte upon this occaſion," ſays d'Aubigné, "with others of the king's phyſicians, and entering but three ſteps into her chamber, when he ſaw the extraordinary condition ſhe was in, went away ſaying to his brother phyſicians, This is the hand of God." Tom. III. liv. v. c. 3.

* Saturday morning, the convulſions had writhed her mouth to the back of her neck. Her body was opened, in which a dead child was found. See concerning this death, M. de Thou, liv. cxxii. Matthieu, ibid. Le Grain, liv. vii. Le Septennarie, ann. 1599. Mem. de Baſſompierre. De Thou, Matthieu, and Baſſompierre, place her death a day ſooner.

‡ According to Baſſompierre, who ſpeaks of it as being an eye-witneſs, Henry did not believe that his miſtreſs was yet dead. He ſays that la Varenne having come to acquaint the marechal d'Ornano and him, who had accompanied the ducheſs to Paris, that ſhe was juſt dead, they both took horſe in order to bring the melancholy news to the king, and keep him from coming to Paris. "We found," ſays he, "the king on the other ſide of la Sauſſaye, near Vilejuif, coming on poſt horſes with all expedition. As ſoon as he ſaw the

 "marechal,

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once more, dead as he believed her to be. The ſame perſons that had carried him back the firſt time to Fontainebleau, prevailed upon him by their arguments and intreaties to go back once more, and it was from this place that he diſpatched the courier to me.

I DID not loſe a moment, I breakfaſted at Poiſſy, and dined at Paris. I made uſe of the archbiſhop of Glaſgow's coach to carry me as far as Eſſonne, from whence I took poſt, and at night got to Fontainebleau. I went immediately to the king, who was walking in a gallery ſunk in an exceſs of grief that

" marechal, he ſuſpected that he came to bring him the news, which " as ſoon as he heard he made great lamentation for her. At length " they prevailed with him to go into the abbey la Sauſſaye, where they " laid him upon a bed: when at laſt a coach coming from Paris, " they put him into it, in order to return to Fontainebleau." Mem. de Baſſompierre, tom. I. p. 69 & ſeq. Le Grain adds, that he fainted away in his coach between the arms of the grand ecuyer or maſter of the horſe.

Without attempting in any reſpect to juſtify the exceſſive fondneſs Henry IV. had for this woman, juſtice however obliges us to obſerve here, that this attachment was no leſs founded on the good qualities of her heart and mind than the beauty of her perſon, and that only the antipathy which is commonly borne towards ſuch as are in the ſame condition, makes people ſay all the ill of her that we ſee related in theſe Memoirs and in the other hiſtorians. I will conclude this article with what d'Aubigné ſays, who is a writer that is naturally more inclined to blame than to commend. " It is a wonder," ſays he, " how this woman, whoſe great beauty had nothing of the " looſe turn in it, could have lived rather like a queen than a miſ- " treſs for ſo many years, and that with ſo few enemies. The neceſ- " ſities of ſtate were the only enemies ſhe had to encounter." He had ſaid before, that ſhe uſed with great moderation her power over the king: and P. Matthieu adds, to the good qualities which he remarks in this lady, that of having often given very good counſel to Henry IV. ibid. " She would not ſuffer any other perſon near her," ſays le Grain alſo, liv. viii. " though the ſieur de Liancourt, was a " man of great merit and of a very honourable family, inſo- " much that this marriage was diſſolved before it was conſummated." Some accounts of that time ſpeak of Nicholas d'Amerval, ſieur de Liancourt, as a perſon of a truly diſtinguiſhed birth and of a very plentiful fortune; but whoſe mind, ſay they, was as badly formed as his body. Mademoiſelle d'Eſtrées married him only to get rid of the tyrannical treatment ſhe received from her father, and becauſe the king promiſed her that he would hinder the conſummation of the marriage, and even diſſolve it; which he actually did.

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made all company insupportable: he told me that, although he expected the sight of me would at first increase his affliction, as in effect it did, yet he was sensible that in the condition, to which the loss he had suffered had reduced him, he had so much need of consolation, that he did not hesitate a moment to send for me to receive an assistance I only could give.

WITH a prince equally sensible of what he owed to religious and political duties, I was not at a loss for resources from whence to derive arguments to calm his sorrow. I recalled to his remembrance some of those passages in the holy scriptures, wherein God as a father and master requires that confidence and perfect resignation, the effect of which is to inspire a christian with a contempt for all sublunary things; to which I added such as might incite to the acknowledgments and adoration of divine providence, as well in deep misfortunes as unexpected success. I made no scruple to represent to Henry, that the accident which now gave him all this affliction, was among the number of those which he would one day look upon as most fortunate. I endeavoured to place him in imagination in that painful, and (if his mistress had lived) unavoidable situation, when, on one side struggling with the force of a tender and violent passion, and on the other with the silent convictions of what honour and duty required of him, he would be under an absolute necessity of coming to some resolution, with regard to an engagement, which he could not break without torture, or preserve without infamy. Heaven, I told him, came to his assistance by a stroke, painful indeed, but which could only open the way to a marriage, upon which depended the tranquility of France, the happiness of his people, the fate of Europe, and his own good, to whom the blessing of a lawful union would always appear too dearly purchased, by the desertion of a woman, who, by a thousand good qualities, was worthy of his affection.

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I EASILY perceived that this laſt argument, inforced in a manner advantageous to his miſtreſs, made an impreſſion upon Henry's heart, by the ſoothing pleaſure it gave him to hear his choice approved of. He confeſſed to me, that it was ſome relief to him to find me placing his attachment for the dutcheſs of Beaufort among the number of thoſe that are formed by a real ſympathy of minds, and not on mere libertiniſm; and that he had been apprehenſive I would have no other ways endeavoured to comfort him, than by rendering him aſhamed of his paſſion for her. The firſt converſation was very long. I do not remember every thing I ſaid to the king. All I know is that, after having firſt applied thoſe gentle ſoothings that affliction demands, the continuance of which I oppoſed by arguments drawn from the neceſſity all princes and perſons in any public character are under, of preſerving, even in the moſt reaſonable ſorrows, that freedom of mind requiſite for affairs of ſtate; Henry had not the weakneſs of reſigning himſelf up to grief through obſtinacy*, or of ſeeking a cure in inſenſibility. He liſtened more to the dictates of his reaſon than his paſſion, and already appeared much leſs afflicted to thoſe perſons who entered his chamber. At length every one being careful not to renew his grief, which his daily employments gradually diminiſhed, he found himſelf in that ſtate in which all wiſe men ought to be who have had great ſubjects of affliction, that is, neither condemning, nor flattering, the cauſe, nor affecting neither to recall or baniſh the remembrance of it.

JOYEUSE likewiſe employed the public attention, having from a ſoldier and courtier† become a capu-

* Henry IV. made all the court go into mourning for the death of the dutcheſs of Beaufort. He himſelf was dreſſed in black for the firſt eight days, and afterwards in violet. Mem. de Chiverny.

† Henry de Joyeuſe, count de Bouchage, and youngeſt brother to the duke de Joyeuſe, was ſlain at Coutras. "One day at four in the "morning, as he was paſſing through the ſtreets of Paris near the "convent

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chin, and afterwards from a capuchin become again a ſoldier and a courtier, he reſumed his inclination for the frock, which it was pretended the pope had only during the war granted him a diſpenſation for quitting; and this time he wore it till his death. The marriage of his daughter ‡, the ſole heireſs of the family of Joyeuſe, with the duke of Montpenſier, was the laſt action of his public life. The marchioneſs de Belliſle *, after his example, took the habit of a nun, of the order of Saint Bernard.

" convent of the capuchins, after he had ſpent the night in a debauch, " he imagined that he heard angels ſinging the matins in the convent: " at which being much affected, he immediately turned capuchin " under the name of Frere-Ange. Afterwards he quitted the frock, " and carried arms againſt Henry IV. at which time the duke de " Maine made him governor of Languedoc, a duke, peer, and mare- " chal of France. At laſt he made his peace with the king: but one " day this prince being with him on a balcony, under which was a " great number of people aſſembled together. Couſin, ſays Henry IV. " to him, this multitude ſeems to me to be very contented and eaſy at " ſeeing together an apoſtate and a renegado. This ſaying of the " king's made ſuch an impreſſion on Joyeuſe, that he entered again " into his convent, where he died." This anecdote is taken from the notes on the Henriade.

‡ Henrietta Catherine de Joyeuſe. There did not ſurvive of this marriage but one daughter, whereby the branch of Bourbon Montpenſier became extinct.

* Antonietta d'Orleans-Longueville was the widow of Charles de Gondy marquis of Belliſle, and eldeſt ſon of the marechal de Retz. Mezeray informs us that the reaſon of her turning was the mortification ſhe received by not being able to revenge the death of her huſband; a ſoldier whom ſhe had employed for this purpoſe having been taken and hanged, for ſhe could not obtain his pardon of the king. The marquis de Belliſle had been killed in 1596 at Mount-Saint-Michel, by a gentleman of Bretagne, called Kermartin. L'Etoile ſpeaks of her as a woman who was much admired by all the court, on account of her beauty and underſtanding, and as an eminent example of devotion and penitence in her convent.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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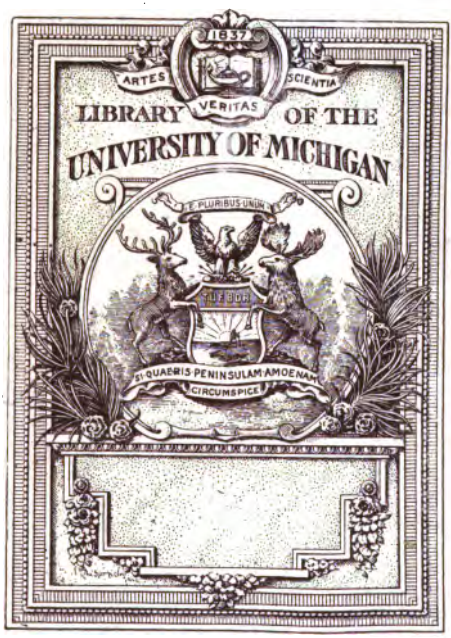

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